

THE GREAT TOMB-
ROBBERIES OF THE
TWENTIETH EGYPTIAN
DYNASTY



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*Being a critical study, with translations and
commentaries, of the papyri in which these
are recorded*

BY

T. E R I C P E E T

BRUNNER PROFESSOR OF EGYPTOLOGY IN
THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL; FORMERLY
LAYCOCK STUDENT IN EGYPTOLOGY AT
WORCESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD

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PREFACE

IN the preface to my *Mayer Papyri A and B*, published in 1920, it was pointed out that Dr. Alan Gardiner and I, when we collaborated in that piece of work, regarded it merely as an instalment of a larger task, namely the adequate publication of all the papyri relating to the great tomb-robberies of the late Rameside era. During the nine years which have since elapsed Dr. Gardiner has been fully occupied with other and more important undertakings, and it has fallen to me to carry out alone the task which we planned together.

The work has all been done within the last six years, during which time I have had the very great advantage of holding the Laycock Studentship in Egyptology at Worcester College, Oxford, the emolument of which has enabled me to travel freely among the museums to which the demands of my researches directed me. The task would have been completed in somewhat shorter time but for an incursion into the Turin papyri of the Ramesside Age which circumstances forced upon me. That the time spent on this work was not wasted will be evident to all who use the present volume, for the events and times treated by the two sets of papyri are in part identical, and many things which seemed dark in the winter gloom of the British Museum looked bright enough in the August sun of Turin.

A word of excuse is perhaps needed for the absence of photographic or hand-facsimiles of the original hieratic. These would have increased enormously the price of the book, even if indeed they had not altogether prohibited publication. What is more, the handwriting of B.M. 10052 is the same as that of Mayer A, which has been published in facsimile; while those of Amherst and B.M. 10053 recto (Harris A) are known to scholars from Newberry's *Amherst Papyri*, and that of Abbott (almost certainly identical with that of Amherst) from the British Museum *Select Papyri*.

Photographs have, indeed, another function besides that of illustrating the handwriting of the originals; they enable the reader to check the author's readings. Their value in this respect

may, however, easily be overrated, for while they serve their purpose well in the better preserved portions of the papyrus, where the author is least likely to go astray, they are nearly useless in the critical places where the writing is faint or damaged. Indeed they are often misleading in such passages, for they fail to differentiate ink marks from brown spots and other accidental flaws. I have tried to supply their place by means of hand-facsimiles in all cases where it seemed to me that there was any doubt about the reading.

This volume has, like most Egyptological works, been produced in the intervals between other necessary tasks, teaching, lecturing, examining, and editing journals, and it will have at least all those faults which can never be absent from a work evolved under such conditions. I am only too well aware of its shortcomings, and if I do not hold it back for further study and maturer reflexion it is only because I feel that I have no right to keep any longer from my colleagues so large and so important a body of hieratic texts.¹

In the spelling of Egyptian proper names I make no claim to complete consistency. This is impossible in texts where to the vagaries of New Kingdom spelling is added the complication of the so-called syllabic script. I have merely tried to give the names in the forms from which the reader will most readily recognize their hieroglyphic originals, inserting no vowels (save the auxiliary e) except such as, whether right or wrong, are firmly established.

The list of corrections to the Plates, printed at the end of this volume, is, I fear, longer than it ought to be. It might have been kept shorter had the plates not been made until all the proofs of the letterpress were corrected. This would, however, not only have caused considerable delay, but would have deprived me of the chance of getting some valuable readings from Dr. Černý in time to be used in the letterpress.

Needless to say, the work owes much to Professor Alan Gardiner, who, indeed, originally suggested to me this piece of research. He had even begun to collate the British Museum papyri with

¹ The B.M. texts were seen and in part copied by Spiegelberg nearly forty years ago. He made admirable use of them in his *Studien und Materialien*, where he quotes them as H.A (Harris A, 10053), H.C. (10052) and Vasalli I (10403).

me when the Coffin Texts flung their icy tentacles about him. I suspect, too, that some of the renderings of Papyrus Abbott with which I am most satisfied come originally from a reading of this papyrus with him in Oxford in 1911.

Dr. Jaroslav Černý has shown that generous courtesy which we have all learnt to expect from him in giving me references from his vast collection of ostraca-texts from Cairo and elsewhere, and I have without acknowledgement adopted many an idea born in conversations with him in the museums and restaurants of Cairo and Turin. It was not until much of my work was in proof that I was able to send him a set of the plates: of the readings which he suggested to me after a rapid study of these I have gratefully adopted a number; they will be found in the Corrections to Plates at the end of this volume.

I have to thank the Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum for authorizing me, in the name of the Trustees, to publish those of the papyri which are in his charge. Both he and Mr. S. R. K. Glanville have shown the greatest kindness and patience in putting these documents at my disposal whenever I have asked for them. Mr. Glanville has further made me his debtor by testing a number of eleventh-hour queries at a moment when I was unable to go up to London.

Plates XXV to XXXVIII were written out by a pupil, Mr. H. W. Fairman, who went to infinite trouble to raise his hieroglyphic script to a sufficiently high standard for this work at very short notice. I owe entirely to him the tracings from the originals on which Plate XXXIX is based.

It would not be meet for me to close without expressing my gratitude to the Provost and Fellows of Worcester College, Oxford, firstly for the honour which they did me in electing me to the Laycock Studentship in Egyptology in 1923, and secondly for the generosity with which they have made possible the publication in satisfactory form of texts which otherwise must have remained buried in my note-books.

T. E. P.

LIVERPOOL, 1930.

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- III. " " p. 5 and p. 6, 1-16.
- IV. " " p. 6, 17-24, and p. 7.
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- VI. Papyrus B.M. 10054, recto 1.1 to 3.10.
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ABBREVIATIONS

THE following abbreviations of the names of books and journals have been used in quotation.

- Ann. Serv.* = *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*. Cairo, 1899 ff.
A.Z. = *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*. Leipzig, 1863 ff.
Berlin Wb. = *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* im Auftrage der deutschen Akademien. Herausgegeben von ADOLF ERMANN und HERMANN GRAPOW. Leipzig, 1925 ff.
BOTTI-PEET, Il Giornale = *Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe*, a cura di GIUSEPPE BOTTI e T. ERIC PEET. Turin, 1928. Forms the first instalment of *I papiri ieratici del Museo di Torino*.
BRUGSCH, Wb. = *Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch*, von HEINRICH BRUGSCH. Leipzig, 1867 ff. Vols. 5-7 of this work are quoted as *Suppl.* (Supplement).
Bull. Inst. fr. d'arch. or. = *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*. Cairo, 1901 ff.
BURCHARDT, Altkan. Fremdw. = *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Ägyptischen*. By MAX BURCHARDT. Leipzig, 1909.
GARDINER, Grammar = *Egyptian Grammar*, being an Introduction to the Study of the Hieroglyphs, by ALAN H. GARDINER. Oxford, 1927.
J.E.A. = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, published by the Egypt Exploration Society. London, 1914 ff.
Rec. trav. = *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*. Paris, 1870 ff.
Stud. u. Mat. = *Studien und Materialien zum Rechtswesen des Pharaonenreiches der Dynast. XVIII-XXI*. By WILHELM SPIEGELBERG. Hannover, 1892.
Pap. Turin, P.R. = *Papyrus de Turin*, facsimilés par F. ROSSI de Turin et publiés par W. PLEYTE de Leide. Leyden, 1869.
Urk. = *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, herausgegeben von GEORG STEINDORFF. Leipzig, various dates.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

NATURE AND DATE OF THE PAPYRI

THE papyri published in this volume together with those in my earlier *Mayer Papyri A and B* do not form a completely homogeneous series. In date they may be attributed as a whole to the later years of the Twentieth Dynasty; there is in fact probably nothing in them of earlier date than the reign of Ramesses IX (Neferkerēr). In content they are difficult to classify because some have been used more than once, and the only general statement which can be made is that each of them bears at least one text dealing with robberies either from tombs or from other sacred places. In some cases we have more than one papyrus dealing with the same incidents. The following table gives a convenient grouping of the papyri according to content and date: further details must be sought for under the special descriptions of the various papyri.

GROUP I

1. Papyrus British Museum 10221 (Abbott); date 16th year of Neferkerēr. Deals with an inspection of royal and other tombs stated to have been robbed, and with events arising out of this.

2. Papyrus Amherst: date (Year 16 of Neferkerēr) not actually preserved but deducible from the contents, which are directly connected with the inspection recorded in Papyrus Abbott.

GROUP II

Papyrus British Museum 10054. This papyrus bears several distinct texts:

(a) Title docket, verso p. 1, recto pp. 1 and 2, with p. 3 lines 1-6, form a homogeneous document referring to tomb-robberies. As the thieves are practically the same gang as those of Amherst, the date, Year 16, found at the head of verso p. 1, may safely be attributed to Neferkerēr.

(b) Verso 5-6 bear a list of thieves, partly those inculpated in text *a*, partly others known to us from the same period.

(c) Recto p. 3, line 7 to end, is a text dealing with thefts by

priests from temple buildings. It is dated in Year 18, perhaps of Neferkerē, perhaps later.

(d) Verso pp. 2-4 is a text relating a distribution of corn and bread. It is dated in Year 6 and is certainly later than Neferkerē.

(e) An entry concerning the handing over of a boat is found at the bottom of verso p. 2. It is dated in Year 10 and cannot be earlier than text d above.

GROUP III

1. Papyrus British Museum 10068. The recto is dated Year 17 of Neferkerē and deals with quantities of gold, silver, copper and other materials recovered from tomb-thieves. On the verso are two texts quite unconnected with the recto. Verso p. 1 records amounts of gold, silver, copper and clothing received from certain persons as a 'contribution' (*šrmt*), and verso pp. 2-8 is a list of house-owners on the West of Thebes. It is dated Year 12, and is to be placed in a period subsequent to Neferkerē, perhaps the *whm mswt* or Renaissance. The text of verso p. 1, owing to the stupidity of the scribe, lacks the year date, but can be shown to be closely related in time to the list of houses.

2. Papyrus British Museum 10053 recto, hitherto known as Harris A. Dated in Year 17 of Neferkerē. Contains the deposition of the same thieves as 10068 concerning their disposal of the copper from the tomb.

The thefts with which this group deals are also referred to in the Turin Necropolis Diary for Year 17 of Neferkerē (see BOTTIPEET, *Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe*, pp. 17-18.)

GROUP IV

This group contains two texts not actually related to one another, but both treating of the same kind of robbery, namely, thefts from places other than tombs.

1. Papyrus British Museum 10053 verso. Dated in Year 9 and probably later than Neferkerē. Deals with thefts from various places, including the temples of Ramesses II and III at Thebes.

2. Papyrus British Museum 10383. Dated in Year 2. This year is almost certainly to be assigned to the *whm mswt* or Renaissance. Deals with thefts from the temple of Ramesses III at Medinat Habu.

GROUP V

This group deals with two sets of thefts into which inquiry seems to have been made at one and the same time, thefts in the Necropolis (*p; hr*) and thefts from various portable chests (*pr-n-st*).

1. Papyrus Abbott, page 8, written on the verso side. This page, or rather pair of pages, has generally been known as the Abbott Dockets. It is dated in Year 1 corresponding to Year 19, and contains lists of thieves concerned in thefts from the Necropolis and from portable chests.

2. Papyrus British Museum 10052 records the opening stages of the trial of the thieves of the Necropolis mentioned in the above dockets. Dated in Year 1 of the Renaissance.

3. Papyrus Mayer A records later stages of this same trial and a portion of the trial of the thieves of the portable chests mentioned in the Abbott Dockets. Dated in Years 1 and 2 of the Renaissance.

4. Papyrus British Museum 10403 records some evidence taken in the proceedings in the trial concerning the portable chests. Dated in Year 2 of the Renaissance.

GROUP VI

Papyrus Mayer B is a fragment from a confession of thieves concerned in robberies from the tomb of Ramesses VI. Date lost and not deducible with any certainty from the names of the persons involved.

GROUP VII

Papyrus Ambras, Vienna No. 30. Dated Year 6 in the Renaissance. A list of documents found stored in two vases and identifiable in part with some of the papyri in the other groups.

Of the above groups several are very clearly and indisputably dated. Thus Groups I and III, together with those portions of Group II (Pap. B.M. 10054) which deal with tomb-robberies, belong to the 16th and 17th years of Neferkerē^r Ramesses IX. Group V dates from Years 1 and 2 of the Renaissance (for the Year 19 of the Abbott Dockets see detailed discussion later, pp. 129-30), and one papyrus, B.M. 10383, of Group IV is certainly to be attributed to Year 2 of the same era.¹ With regard to the rest

¹ For the position in the dynasty of this epoch see *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, xiv, pp. 65 ff. A fresh piece of evidence published by Černý in the same *Journal*, xv, pp. 194-8, which at first

of the documents there are difficulties arising from two facts, firstly that the dates have in some cases been lost, and secondly that the scribes of this period often omitted the king-name when inserting the year.

In this connexion the Ambras Papyrus assumes a considerable importance. Although the translation of its heading is a little uncertain, it is clear that in Year 6 of the Renaissance two jars containing stored papyri were inspected and a list made of their contents. The second jar contained documents relating to thieves, and of the documents described four may with very high probability be identified with our Pap. B.M. 10068 recto, Pap. Abbott, Pap. Amherst, and Pap. B.M. 10053 recto (see pp. 179-80 for details). Now it is significant that Ambras makes no mention of the texts on the verso either of B.M. 10068 or B.M. 10053, and the inference that these texts were not there when the inspection was made seems just. If this is so, then these verso texts must be dated not earlier than Year 6 of the Renaissance. This means that the Year 9 of 10053 verso and the Year 12 of the list of houses in 10068 verso pp. 2 to 8 are to be assigned either to the Renaissance or a later reign or epoch. What is more, the tomb-robbery texts of B.M. 10054 are perhaps identical with the document described in Ambras 2. 5-6, and in this case the other (later) texts of 10054 are likely to be of the Renaissance or later.

This evidence, not worked out in full here, has been given its proper weight in discussing the date of the various texts later in the book.

THE TWENTIETH EGYPTIAN DYNASTY

The scene of the events described in the papyri published in this volume is Thebes of the Late Twentieth Dynasty. How such astonishing events ever came to take place at all can only be understood if the conditions which prevailed in Egypt at the time and the history of the preceding century be taken into account.

The Nineteenth Dynasty had witnessed an era of great prosperity in Egypt. The empire in Syria founded by Tuthmosis III, held by Amenophis III, and partially or completely lost under Akhenaten his son, had been to a great extent recovered under the warlike Ramesses II, whose reign may be placed approxi-

sight seems to indicate that the *whm msot* was a part, if not the whole, of the reign of Ramesses XI Menmarêr, proves on closer investigation to be indecisive.

mately 1292 to 1225 B. C. The Egyptian temples waxed fat on the booty brought back by frequent expeditions into Syria and on the tribute of the subdued peoples, and the land was full of Syrian slaves, some of whom even advanced themselves into positions of importance at the court. Already in this prosperous reign, however, came the first warnings of a danger which threatened the very existence of Egypt. The Libyans, who inhabited that portion of the North African coast which bordered on the Western Delta, as well as the oases of the Sahara desert as far south as the latitude of Nubia, had already begun to take advantage of the king's old age to raid the Delta. There existed some connexion, which is as yet imperfectly understood, between these Libyan raids and the descent into the Eastern Mediterranean of those hordes of Northerners to whose coming the overthrow of the Mycenaean civilization is to be attributed. Thus Ramesses' son and successor Merenptah was called upon in his fifth year to repel an organized attack on Egypt by Libyans who had allied themselves with the roving Sherden (from somewhere in Asia Minor?), Shekelesh (Siculi?), Ekwesh (Achaeans), Lycians and Teresh (Tursenoi). The Egyptians won a great victory and the danger was staved off for the moment.

But these great movements of peoples are rarely frustrated by a single victory, and under Ramesses III, the first king of the Twentieth Dynasty, the Libyans and their allies, among whom fresh tribes now appear, the Theker, the Peleset (Philistines), and the Denyen (Danaoi), renewed their attacks on Egypt. Three times they were defeated, twice in or on the borders of Egypt, and once in a combined land and sea battle, apparently in Syria, whither Ramesses had advanced in order to meet the danger as far from home as possible.

Ramesses, however, was succeeded by a series of kings all bearing his name, but not heirs to his warlike energy. We know literally nothing of their deeds. Doubtless the infiltration of the Libyans soon began again, and to such good effect that in the Twenty-first Dynasty they managed to obtain by peaceful penetration what they failed to get by war. By the end of that dynasty they had established themselves so firmly in the Delta that they were able to seize the throne of all Egypt. One of the revelations of the Necropolis Diary of the end of the Twentieth Dynasty is the fact that this process of penetration was in full swing in

Thebes as early as this date.¹ On many occasions work in the Necropolis is said to have been stopped by the presence of foreigners, explicitly called in some cases Libyans or Meshwesh.

Foreign immigration was, however, not the only danger with which the feeble kings of the later part of this dynasty were faced. The successful campaigns of Ramesses II and later of Merenptah and Ramesses III had brought into Egypt vast quantities of booty, most of which found its way as a matter of course into the treasuries of the gods who give victory to men, more especially into those of Amūn of Thebes. The Great Harris Papyrus, drawn up by Ramesses IV to record his father's benefactions to the temples of the land, gives an impressive idea of the wealth of which the temple and priesthood of Amūn were possessed. What is more, at a time when Pharaohs were coming and going every year or two, the high priest of Amūn acquired a stability which in the minds of men must have surpassed that of the kingship, and from Ramesses III to Ramesses IX only three high-priests, Ramesses-nakht, Nesamūn and Amenhotpe, held office.² It cannot be thought strange that the project of capturing the throne from the royal line should come to birth in their minds. The plan seems to have been accomplished by peaceful means, though we do hear of a 'war of the high-priest Amenhotpe', perhaps an attack on him rather than by him. Whatever the methods used, the high-priest Hrihor was enabled gradually to encroach upon the royal prerogatives with such success that he became the first king of the Twenty-first Dynasty.

Such were the conditions which prevailed in Egypt at the time of the tomb- and other robberies with which our papyri deal. Can it be wondered at that a government faced with such vital problems as this proved unable to protect from sacrilege either the tombs of the dead or the temples of the gods?

Abroad the prestige of Egypt had sunk very low, and one has only to read the report of Wenamūn, an Egyptian envoy sent to Syria in Year 5 of Ramesses XI to obtain wood for the sacred barque of Amūn, to see that in Syria at least Egypt was no longer of any account, and that she must now beg where a century ago she had been wont to command.

The dynasty coincides approximately with the twelfth century

¹ See *J.E.A.*, xii, pp. 257-8; xiv, pp. 67-8, and WAINWRIGHT, *Ann. Serv.*, xxvii, pp. 76 ff.

² See LEFEBVRE's recent *Histoire des grands prêtres*, pp. 179-80.

B. C., Breasted's date for the accession of Ramesses III being 1198 and the total of the lengths of reigns being rather more than a hundred years. The following is a list of its kings with the minimum lengths of their reigns.¹

Ramesses III, Usimarēr Miamūn, reigned 32 years.

Ramesses IV, Hekmarēr Setpenamūn, reigned 6 years.

Ramesses V, Usimarēr Sekheperenrēr, reigned 4 years at least.

Ramesses VI, Nebmarēr Miamūn (no year dates are known).

Ramesses VII, Usimarēr Miamūn Setpenrēr, reigned 7 years at least.

Ramesses VIII, Usimarēr Akhenamūn (no year dates are known).

Ramesses IX, Neferkerēr Setpenrēr, reigned 17 years at least, possibly 19.

Ramesses X, Khepermarēr Setpenrēr, reigned 3 years at least.

Ramesses XI, Menmarēr Setpenptah, reigned 27 years at least.

Somewhere in the reign of Ramesses XI is perhaps to be placed the epoch known as the *whm mswt*, Renewing of Births or Renaissance, often wrongly assigned to Ramesses X. It may be a name for the reign as a whole, or merely for a part of it. The highest date in the epoch so far known is Year 6. Papyri Mayer A, Ambras, B.M. 10052 and B.M. 10403 are all dated in this era.

THE VIZIERS OF THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY

A list of the known viziers of the Twentieth Dynasty may be useful for reference purposes. For further details on these the reader should consult ARTHUR WEIL, *Die Veziere des Pharaonenreiches*, pp. 112-18. Such additions as may be made to the references so admirably collected there come mainly from the papyri treated in this volume.

1. Ta. Well known from a number of references dating from Year 18 to Year 29 of Ramesses III.

2. Hori. He is dated to the reign of Ramesses III by a rock engraving behind Medinat Habu (LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, iii. 206 d). The reference in the Strike Papyrus (Pap. Turin, P.R. 47. 10) does not, however, for a moment show that he was vizier in Year 29 of that king, as Weil would allow us to suppose.

3. Neferrenpet. Fixed in date by references in Years 2, 4 and 6

¹ See *J.E.A.*, xiv, pp. 52 ff.

of Ramesses IV. For the reference given by Weil to *Ä.Z.*, xxix, p. 83, suggesting the possibility of his having held office down into the reign of Ramesses V, see now *J.E.A.*, x, p. 121, translation, recto 2. 4. The papyrus in question was compiled later than Year 4 of Ramesses V (*ibid.*, p. 119), but the offence in which the vizier was so indirectly concerned may have taken place some time previously.¹

4. Nebmarēnakht. All that is known of him comes from this group of papyri. He was vizier in Year 14 of Ramesses IX (Abbott, 4. 15-16), but not in Year 16, unless there were then two viziers.² He appears again in Abbott Dockets 8 A. 20 in Year 1 corresponding to Year 19, also in Years 1 and 2 of the Renaissance (Pap. Mayer A, 1. 6, B.M. 10052, 1. 4; 10383, 1. 2).

5. Khaemwēse. The references known to me from the present group of papyri and the Turin Necropolis Diary are as follows:

Abbott, 1.5, 2.4, 4.7, 4.12, 7.3, and 7.6. Year 16 of Ramesses IX.

Amherst 3. 7. Year 16 of Ramesses IX.

B.M. 10054, vs. 1. 2. Year 16, certainly of Ramesses IX by inference.

B.M. 10068, ro. 1.5, 4.2. Year 17 of Ramesses IX.

B.M. 10052, 8. 19. Year 1 of the Renaissance. Referred to as having been vizier in the past.

Necropolis Diary at Turin for Year 3 of Khepermarē, ro. 3. 7 (see BOTTI-PEET, *Il Giornale*, p. 50). Still vizier in that year.

B.M. 10053, ro. (Harris A) 1. 5. Year 17 of Ramesses IX.

Turin Necropolis Diary for Year 17 of Ramesses IX, ro. B, 1. 21 and 8. 4 (*op. cit.*, pp. 22, 26).

Pap. Turin P.R. 83 and 90 (parts of a single papyrus), viz. 83. 3 and 90. 2. From the Necropolis Diary of Year 16, certainly of Ramesses IX.

Khaemwēse can thus be traced only from Year 16 of Ramesses IX to Year 3 of Ramesses X.

6. Wenennefer. There is nothing to be added to Weil's references, except that Pap. Turin, P.R. 61 can be dated, from its unpublished continuation, to Year 18 of a king who from internal evidence is almost certainly Menmarē Ramesses XI.

¹ Add to Weil's references Pap. Bibl. Nat. Paris 237, Carton 22 (collated). SPIEGELBERG, who published this letter in his *Correspondances*, p. 89, did not observe that on the verso it bore the address of Neferrenpet.

² This is unlikely, for see Abbott, 6. 22.

THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS

The great Necropolis of Thebes plays such an important part in the group of papyri here treated, both as the scene of many of the thefts and in virtue of the connexion of members of its staff with the perpetration of the crimes and the prosecution of the guilty parties, that some description of it and of its organization at this period is necessary to the proper understanding of the papyri themselves. Its full name was 'The Great and Noble Necropolis of Millions of Years of Pharaoh on the West of Thebes', *pꜣ hr ꜣ špsꜣ n ḥḥ n rnpt n Pr-ꜣ hr imntt Wꜣst* (Abbott, 1. 7-8). This name, used in the protocol of official documents, was too long for common use, and was abbreviated into 'The Necropolis', *pꜣ hr*,¹ or 'The Necropolis of Pharaoh'. We do not know the early history of the word *hr*, but it is curious that it is used in these papyri not only for the Necropolis but for single tombs in it (e.g. Abbott, 5. 3). Other words for single tombs are *mr* (strictly a pyramid, and hence a tomb with a pyramid), *ḥrt* or *mrḥrt* and *isi* (Abbott, 4. 1), this last perhaps being more strictly a single chamber. A tomb is also sometimes referred to as *st*, literally 'a place' (10052, 3. 1), more specifically *st ꜣst*, a Great Place (10052, 4. 7), and this last phrase is used in the plural (Abbott, 7. 10; 10052, 1. 8) of the tombs as a whole.²

It is quite clear from a comparison of the uses of the term Necropolis, *pꜣ hr*, in these papyri that it included at any rate all the royal and more important private tombs on the West of Thebes, not only the long line of royal tombs of the Eleventh and Seventeenth Dynasties in the foothills of the Dirâ' Abu el-Nagâ, but also the tombs of the kings in the Valley of the Kings or Bibân el-Mulûk and those of the queens and princes in the Valley of the Queens. These different and widely distant portions of the Necropolis must have had separate names. One of them we can

¹ Abbott 5. 17 and 6. 9-11, speaking of the two scribes of the Necropolis, calls Peibes *sꜣ n pꜣ hr* simply and Hori *sꜣ n pꜣ hr n Ḥn-ḥni*, though in 6. 18 they are together described as *nꜣ sꜣw n pꜣ hr n Ḥni* (sic). For the scribes' full title cf. SPIEGELBERG, *Thebanische Graffiti*, text, p. 35, No. 408e, and Pap. Turin, P.R. 42. 3, 44. 13, and 46. 20 (collated), though in the Turin examples the reading is simply *pꜣ sꜣ n pꜣ hr Ḥni* without *ḥn*. That the same place is intended is probable from the fact that the scribe Amennakht here given (44. 13) is the father of the scribe Hori of Abbott (5. 16): we know from the evidence of the Turin Necropolis Diary that these offices of scribe were hereditary. It is possible that the distinction between the *hr* and the *hr n Ḥn-ḥni* only existed in these titles. BRUGSCH, *Dict. géog.*, gives *Ḥn-ḥni* as a name for Upper Egypt, and this meaning would suit well in the passages Piankhi, line 6, and Pap. Petrograd 1116 B, ro. 59.

² Pap. Turin, P. R. 47. 4, calls them 'The Great and Deep Places'.

fix with comparative certainty, for it is perfectly evident from Abbott, 4. 11 ff., that the 'Place of Beauty', *t3 st nfrw*, is the name of the spot in which the royal wives and children were buried, i. e. the Valley of the Queens. This is supported by a passage in the Turin Necropolis Diary (see below), where a commission sent to inspect the tomb of a Queen Isis, probably the Isis referred to in the Abbott passage, goes up to the 'Place of Beauty'. From the passage in Abbott already quoted (5. 5) it would seem clear that this place was also known as the 'Great Valley', *t3 int ʿst*. In one passage, 10053, ro. 1. 4, we have the form 'The Beautiful Place', *t3 st nfrt*, which is probably a mere variant for the name of the valley rather than a name for a particular tomb in it.

It is singular that these papyri do not furnish us with the name of the Valley of the Kings. Indeed we know no name for it save 'The Valley', *t3 int*, which occurs on ostraca actually found there and need not necessarily be its full name.¹

Another term which has been taken to denote a part of the Necropolis is The Place of Truth, or The True Place. This was identified by Maspero with the northern section of the Necropolis round the temple of Kurnah and the Dirâ' Abu el-Nagâ. Černý, on the other hand,² though not committing himself to a geographical determination, believes that the phrase Servants of the Place of Truth is identical with the People of the Necropolis, *rmt-ist n p3 hr*, for it occurs almost solely on monuments in the cemetery of Dêr el-Medînah, where these workmen were buried. Now in 10053, ro. 7. 8, and 10052, 8. 17, we find two persons each called 'craftsman of the Place of Truth', *hmaww n st M3ct*: if the Place of Truth is nothing other than the Necropolis it is very curious that among all the titles (including *hmaww*) in these papyri followed by the designation 'of the Necropolis' we should find just two followed by 'of the Place of Truth'. More than this. On the recto of the Map of the Goldmines at Turin is a text, which I have collated, referring to some quarrying operations. We read in a partly destroyed context that the 'King despatched(?) the great notables to bring the . . . of Hammâmât-stone . . . to Egypt. They set it down in the Place of Truth beside the temple of Ramesses II the Great God . . .'. The Place of Truth was, then, a definite geographical area and included ground near the Rames-

¹ See Cairo Ostrakon 25302, and ČERNÝ, in *Bull. Inst. fr. d'arch. or.*, xxvii, p. 186.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 160.

seum. More than this it is impossible to say in the light of present evidence.

At exactly what date the Necropolis was established as a state organization we do not know. From the time when royal burial began on the West of Thebes, in the Eleventh Dynasty, some person or group of persons must have been responsible for the upkeep of the tombs. At the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty the royal Necropolis was already assuming considerable proportions, and the adoption by Tuthmosis I of the Valley of the Kings as a royal burial-place, together with the increase in size and splendour of the tombs, must have created a need for an organization to prepare and protect them. The fact that Queen Nefertiri, wife of Aahmes I, and her son Amenhotep I were the objects of special veneration among the Necropolis-workers—disputes were frequently settled by oracular responses of a statue of this latter king—suggests that these two persons had taken a great part in setting the Necropolis organization upon an official footing. Bruyère notes that many of the bricks used in building the village of the Necropolis-workers excavated by him at Dêr el-Medînah bore the cartouche of Tuthmosis I. All this evidence goes to place the establishment of the Necropolis organization in the early years of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

It continued in full activity throughout this dynasty, and on to the end of the Twentieth, after which we lose touch with it. The renunciation of Thebes as a burial-place by the later kings of Egypt must have heavily damaged its prestige, and the conveyance of practically all the untouched royal bodies from their own tombs to the secret chamber at Dêr el-Baḥarî in the early years of the Twenty-first Dynasty probably not only indicates the desire to protect them against further plundering, but also marks the abandonment of all attempt on the part of the state to keep up and protect the Great and Noble Necropolis.

MM. Bruyère and Černý have made out a strong case for the belief that the actual dwelling-place of the Necropolis workmen was the village which they have recently excavated at Dêr el-Medînah, whose cemeteries lie in the hills overlooking it.¹ This would be a convenient and natural home for workmen engaged in the Valley of the Queens, and it is at a reasonable distance

¹ See the *Rapports sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh*, 1922-3 and following years (Cairo, *Inst. fr. d'arch. or.*).

from the temple of Ramesses III, which, as all the cemetery documents go to show, was the centre of the administration of the Necropolis in the Twentieth Dynasty. Even for men working in the Valley of the Kings it was not ill situated, for a walk of little more than a mile over the hills brings one into the Bibân el-Mulûk; indeed, if a convenient dwelling-place was to be found for men whose work might lie in either of the great valleys, this would be the spot.

A certain amount of geographical detail with regard to the Necropolis may be gleaned from the papyri, more particularly from that generally known as the Strike Papyrus, Turin 1880 (P.R. 35-48). Here the workmen, when discontented at the lack of their rations, are said on various occasions to have passed the 'five walls of the Necropolis' and marched by way of protest to one of the great funerary temples, that of Tuthmosis III, that of Merenptah, that of Ramesses II, or on one occasion that of Ramesses III, from whose 29th year the papyrus dates. The impression given by these passages is that the workmen left the Necropolis, which was surrounded by five walls, and entered the temples, which would thus be outside the Necropolis. At the same time it seems a legitimate inference from this very document (P.R. 45. 8) that the 'Fortress of the Necropolis' was on the river bank, so that, unless this was completely isolated from the Necropolis proper, this last would seem to have stretched as far as the river. In this case it would have included the funerary temples, and the men, when they passed the five walls, would be entering the Necropolis, not leaving it: indeed in one passage (P.R. 43. 7) we read 'The workmen passed the walls and sat down in the Necropolis'. These walls must have run close by the village of the workmen, for P.R. 44. 11 has 'The workmen went to pass the walls behind the village'. This is an obscure matter on which future excavations of the French Institute may well throw light.

The workmen were employed by the state, and, so far as our evidence goes, received no payment, but were furnished with rations. These consisted of grain, issued from the state granaries¹ by the King through his minister the vizier, fish and vegetables. Oil and clothes also seem to have been provided. In the disturbed days of the Twentieth Dynasty, from which period most

¹ Often from the magazines of the temple of Maat in Thebes.

of our information concerning the Necropolis dates, there was great irregularity in the delivery of the rations. To this the workmen replied by refusing to work. 'There are no clothes, no oil, no fish, no vegetables,' they said. 'Send to Pharaoh our Good Lord concerning them, and send also to the vizier our master that a means of sustenance may be provided for us.'¹ Such complaints were generally met by the issue of a portion of the overdue ration, which kept the men quiet for a few days, when the whole incident was repeated. Many a working-day was lost because the men were too hungry and too weak to work, and still more serious was the loss of time occasioned by the presence in Egypt of hostile foreigners.²

It was one of the duties of the scribes of the Necropolis to keep a diary or journal of the chief happenings, and several portions of this diary, dating from the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, have come down to us. From these and from our tomb-robbery papyri we can form a fairly close idea of the organization of the Necropolis.

The men, collectively *tꜥ ist*, separately *rmt ist*, who seem to have numbered normally about 120,³ were divided into two sections called the Right and the Left Side respectively. Each side, *rwtꜥ*, was in charge of a chief workman, *ꜥꜥ n ist*, and each had a scribe, *sꜥ n pꜥ hr*, whose duty was to keep its records and accounts. We do not know the origin of this division into two sections, but it was quite fundamental, and the affairs of the two sections were, on paper at least, kept wholly distinct. The two deputies, *idnw*, were probably understudies to the chief workmen. It is not easy to be certain of the identity of the *hwtiw n tꜥ ist* or *n pꜥ hr*: it seems probable that this was simply a term for three of the principle officers, namely, the two chief workmen and one of the scribes. There are also inspectors, *rwꜥdw n pꜥ hr*; here again we seem to have a general title for men already possessing specific offices in the Necropolis,⁴ since in P.R. 47. 2 a workman says to one of the scribes and one of the chief workmen, 'You are our superiors and you are the inspectors of the Necropolis'.

¹ Strike Pap., ro. 2. 3-5 (P.R. Pl. 43).

² *J.E.A.*, xii, p. 257-8; xiv, pp. 67-8.

³ Turin Pap. 2044, unpublished: date Year 1, probably of Ramesses IV or V. Cf. P.R. 49. 5. Later documents suggest about half this number, e.g. BOTTI-PEET, *Il Giornale*, p. 13, 3. 15 (Year 13 of Ramesses IX. See, too, Pap. Tur., P.R. 7. 10-12 (collated). Did the higher number include the 'external labourers', *smdt n bnr*?

⁴ Neither *rwꜥdw* nor *hwtiw* occurs in the singular, and neither is ever followed by a proper name or names.

Some of the workmen are described by titles indicative of their special duties. Thus we read of sculptors, *sš kd*; engravers, *tꜥi m mdꜥt*; quarriers, *ntr-hrtiw*; coppersmiths, *hmtiw* (?); craftsmen, *hmww* (often woodworkers); a plaster-maker, *kdꜥ*; and a *kd*, who may sometimes be a mason but who is certainly in some cases a potter.

Nubians of the tribe of Mazoi, *Mdꜥiw*, were attached to the Necropolis as police. They were in charge of two chiefs of Mazoi, *hri Mdꜥiw*.

The offices of chief workman and scribe were of great importance in the Necropolis,¹ and the latter would seem to have been generally hereditary, for we can trace two almost unbroken lines of fathers and sons from early in the Twentieth Dynasty down to the beginning of the Twenty-first. There are some grounds for thinking that the two scribes were not quite on the same footing. We have already seen that they bore slightly different titles (p. 9, n. 1); only one of them seems to have been among the three *hwtiw*, and in some cases one of the scribes receives a smaller ration than these officers.

One question remains. Who are the *smdt n bnr*, the 'external staff', who are so often named in connexion with the Necropolis? Judging from the name alone, one would guess them to be persons who took part in the work or life of the Necropolis, but who were unattached and probably did not live in the same quarter or come under the Necropolis officials for rations and discipline. Such a theory would well suit the facts known to us about these people. The word *smdt* seems to mean the 'staff' of an institution, and in contrast with the external staff there should theoretically be an internal staff, *smdt n hnw*. Such no doubt there was, but it was probably never known by that name, for it was simply the *ist* or body of workmen. The Strike Papyrus has an interesting journal entry which bears on this point (P.R. 37. 2 ff.) 'Year 29, third month of inundation day 2 (?). Detail of employment of the staff (*smdt*) of the Necropolis.' Then follows the entry 'The body of

¹ In the division of rations they fared rather better than the men, receiving sometimes as much as a double portion. See, for example, Pap. Tur., P.R. 34, which records a division of oil, *sgnn*. Two superiors, *hrtiw*, receive 5 *hin* each, while 17 men receive 2½ *hin* each and 8 others 1½ each. Probably one 'side' only is in question here, and the *hrtiw* were the chief workman and the scribe. In Pap. Turin, P.R. 7, the two *hwtiw* on each 'side' (so there are 4 *hwtiw* here!) each receive a double portion of *hh*-oil. See, too, BOTTI-PRET, *Il Giornale*, p. 39, Year 17, A verso, page 1. In Pap. Turin, P.R. 90. 3, there are 5 *hwtiw*.

workmen (*t3 ist*) in its entirety'. Next comes the heading 'water-bearers' followed by six names, then 'carriers of vegetables' with six names, all entitled gardeners or under-gardeners, then 'bringers of fish' with four names of fishermen. Here it would seem that the whole staff, *smdt*, is divided into 'workmen' (*t3 ist*), and *smdt n bnr*, 'outside labourers', who comprise the providers of water, vegetables and fish.¹

CRIMINAL PROCEDURE IN ANCIENT EGYPT

Thirty-six years ago Wilhelm Spiegelberg, then a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Strassburg, wrote an inaugural dissertation on the administration of justice in Ancient Egypt.² This admirable work still holds the field, and though a few additions have been made to it owing to the discovery of new documents, and though certain points in it have been more fully elaborated by other writers, it stands unsurpassed as a sketch of what is known. That no advance has been made in the study of this subject is due to several causes. In the first place, it is, in the minds of some, slightly arid in its nature. Secondly, the documents are few and are scattered over long periods of time, making it impossible to gain a complete insight into any one period, and dangerous to generalize. Lastly, much of the available evidence consists of nothing more than the existence of certain titles: in a country where titles are as common as they were in Egypt, arguments drawn from them are nearly valueless, the more so as many of them were purely honorific.

The task is, however, not hopeless, and there is in Egyptian law a fine subject waiting for some one who has the time, the patience, and, last but not least, the philological knowledge to undertake it. Such a work would naturally reach far beyond the limits assigned to this introduction. At the same time the papyri here published, mostly for the first time, are of such importance for this study that we must ask ourselves what can be learnt from them.

Be it noted at the outset that they are not all of the same character. Thus in Group I Papyrus Abbott is not an account of

¹ Fish was supplied by contract with a few head-fishermen. See the unpublished Turin Papyrus of fish accounts for Years 19, 1 and 2 of kings not named (Pap. 2075), and Journal for Year 17 and for Year 3 (BOTTI-PEET, *Il Giornale*, *passim*).

² *Studien und Materialien zum Rechtswesen des Pharaonenreiches*, Hannover, 1892.

a trial but of an inquiry of quite a special nature. Group IV, along with a portion of the verso of Pap. 10054, deals with thefts not from tombs but from temples. Groups II, III and V deal with thefts from the cemeteries, but Group III stands alone in that the thieves involved are all members of the staff of the great Necropolis. These differences should be kept in mind in order to prevent too hasty generalization.

The questions which arise are as follows:

1. Who initiated the action against the delinquents?
2. What was the constitution of the court which tried them?
3. What was the procedure at the trial?
4. With whom lay the power of sentence and what were the punishments awarded?

We shall deal with these questions in the order given.

1. Who initiated the action?

One of the few facts which can be stated with confidence concerning the administration of justice in Egypt is that the vizier took a very prominent part in it. The inscription in the tomb of Rekhmirē, with its description of the vizier sitting in his judgment-hall with the forty rolls of the law spread out in front of him, would alone suffice to prove this. At the time of the Abbott Papyrus and just previously there was, as may be deduced from 6. 22, only one vizier,¹ namely Khaemwēse, and he was stationed at Thebes. It was to him that Pwerro, prince of the West, denounced in the first place the thefts (or the thieves, a lacuna makes it impossible to say which) dealt with by Papyrus Abbott (1. 7-9). Pwerro took this step by reason presumably of his position as prince of the West and chief of Mazoi (police) in the Necropolis, which naturally made him responsible for the safe keeping of the tombs. His report was made not only to the vizier, but also to the notables (*nj srw*) and to the butlers of Pharaoh. At the same time he was clearly not the only official in a position to report such a crime, for in 2. 4 we find that Pesiūr, prince of Thebes, had reported damage to the tomb of Amenhotpe I: his report was made to what is clearly the same group of men to which Pwerro had reported, though they are here described with more detail. It is to be observed here that there is no reference

¹ See GARDINER, *Inscription of Mes*, p. 33 and note 4.

to the Pharaoh, and that the vizier and his officers seem to have conducted an inquiry without any reference to or instructions from the king.

On the other hand, Pesiūr, when annoyed by the hostile demonstration of the Necropolis staff, threatens to report direct to Pharaoh (or states that he has already done so) the fresh series of charges made to him by the scribes of the Necropolis. Whether Pesiūr carried out his threat we do not learn, and it may be that this direct report by an inferior official without passing through the vizier was unusual, Pesiūr feeling in this case that the vizier was inimical to him and liable to suppress, or at any rate make light of, any charges he might make.

From this same incident we get a valuable piece of information (6. 20 ff.), namely, that the proper procedure in the case of irregularities in the tombs was for the scribes of the Necropolis to report to the vizier direct if he was in Upper Egypt, and if not, for the Mazoi and 'His Majesty's servants (*šmsw*) of the Necropolis' to follow the vizier downstream with their documents.

Thus the Pharaoh does not actually appear in the story told in the Abbott Papyrus. In 10068, ro. 1. 5-6, we are told that the thieves had been reported by Pwewro and the scribe of the quarter Wenennefer to the vizier and the high-priest of Amūn, and these two officials order the arrest of the guilty parties. The association with the vizier of the high-priest is interesting; as the highest spiritual authority in the land, he was doubtless interested in any crime which involved the desecration of a temple or tomb. Here again the king does not enter the story, though this may be purely due to the scantiness of the detail which is given to us.

There are, however, two trials where the Pharaoh took a part. In 10383 we read (1. 2) that the prophet Amenmose reported to Pharaoh a theft or thefts of silver and gold from the temple, and that Pharaoh then ordered the vizier and two butlers to try the case. In 1. 4-5 of the same papyrus a specific theft of silver is said to have been reported to Pharaoh by a prophet of the temple involved. In 10052, 5. 2-3, we are told that certain tomb-thieves were examined by 'the vizier and the notables (*srw*) of the Place of Examination to whom it had been entrusted'. As the vizier was the highest authority next to the Pharaoh it must have been the latter who entrusted the case to him and his court. This is corroborated by the Abbott Dockets dealing with the same case:

here Power^o lays a list of thieves before Pharaoh, and seven weeks later he lays an emended and longer list before the vizier. It was presumably between the dates of these two lists that the case was handed over by Pharaoh to the vizier.

Here then we have two cases, one of theft from a temple and the other of theft from tombs, in which the trial was definitely entrusted by Pharaoh to the vizier and his fellows. It may be that this was the procedure adopted in all cases of this kind and magnitude. There is certainly nothing in these papyri which would conflict with such a belief, for, though the absence of reference to Pharaoh in the Abbott affair is definite, yet it must be remembered that this case was of a very special nature and that the only trial in it, that of page 7, was a trial, staged for a particular purpose, of men known not to be guilty, hardly indeed constituting a trial in the legal sense.

2. What was the composition and nature of the court?

Attempts have been made from time to time to demonstrate that there existed in ancient Egypt more or less permanent courts of justice. These attempts have mostly been based on the existence of names of bodies apparently possessing judicial functions, such as the Six Great Houses, or, in the New Kingdom, the Kenbet. In the period with which we are concerned only the latter comes into consideration. The evidence which has been assembled by Spiegelberg,¹ Gardiner,² and others makes it clear that in the New Kingdom a court which sat to judge a civil or a criminal case was frequently called a Kenbet (*knbt*), more fully *knbt sdmw*, 'court of hearers'. The members of a *knbt* are in some cases referred to as *srw*, 'notables'. Gardiner has further shown that in the litigation quoted in the inscription of Mes, mainly if not wholly dating from the Nineteenth Dynasty, there figure two Kenbets, namely, the Great Kenbet (*knbt ʿst*) of Heliopolis, under the presidency of the vizier, and the local Kenbet of Memphis, consisting of, and sometimes referred to as, 'the notables (*srw*) of the town'. To the Great Kenbet of Heliopolis doubtless corresponded a Great Kenbet of Thebes, presided over by the Upper Egyptian vizier at such times as there were two, and by the vizier of the whole land when there happened to be but one.

¹ *Stud. u. Mat.*, pp. 13 ff.

² *Inscription of Mes*, pp. 33 ff.

In the material provided by our papyri we read only once of a Kenbet, and it is precisely this 'Great Kenbet of Thebes' (Abbott, p. 7). Its members are called *srw*, more specifically 'the great notables' (*n srw srw*) (7. 8), and comprise the vizier, chief priest of Amūn, second (?) priest of Amūn, two royal butlers, the steward of the House of the Divine Votaress, a lieutenant-general of chariotry, a standard-bearer of the navy, and the prince Pesiūr of Thebes. In the proceedings of this court the actual trial of the three coppersmiths is only secondary, for its main purpose is to dispose of, or perhaps merely to side-track, the charges made by Pesiūr, one of its own members, against the staff of the Necropolis.

This is the only instance in our papyri where a court as such is mentioned. We do, however, know the composition of the bodies which conducted several of the trials. Thus the great tomb-robbery case of Mayer A and 10052 was tried by the vizier Nebmarēnakht, the overseer of the treasury and overseer of the granary Menmarēnakht, and the butlers Yenes and Pemiamūn. These must be the same persons as 'the vizier and the notables (*srw*) of the Place of Examination to whom it had been entrusted' by Pharaoh (10052, 5. 2-3). The trial of Pap. Amherst was conducted by the vizier, the butler, the herald of Pharaoh, and the prince of Thebes, at least these are the persons who sent the report upon it to Pharaoh. The same four officials also conducted, a few days previously, the examination recorded in the tomb-robbery portion of 10054. We cannot tell what court or body of officials tried the guilty of Group III. They were first imprisoned in the temple of Maat in Thebes, and then handed over by the vizier and the chief priest to the Necropolis officials for guarding. The Necropolis Diary records the examination of the men and their wives, but does not tell us who conducted it. The recovery of the stolen property was in the first place undertaken by the vizier and chief priest.

To identify any of these small bodies of judges with the Great Kenbet of Thebes, or to assume that any of them constituted permanent courts of law, would be quite unjustifiable. The probabilities indeed seem to lie rather against such a course. The composition of the Great Kenbet is given in Abbott, yet the officials who function in Amherst and 10054, which are within a day or two of the same date as Abbott, are only four in number and could not in themselves constitute the Great Kenbet. What is

more likely than that these cases, which, owing to the desecration involved, were of the highest importance, were entrusted by Pharaoh for trial to the three or four highest officials of the state and of the Theban area.

3. The method of trial.

The nature of an Egyptian criminal trial can best be realized if the features in which it differs from a modern trial be grasped. The persons concerned were the examining body, the criminals, and the witnesses. There was no jury and there were no advocates on either side. The examining body themselves constituted prosecutor, judge, and jury; counsel for the defence there was none. There were no barristers in ancient Egypt. The innocent presumably put their trust in a plain unvarnished tale and hoped for the best.

These conditions prevailed not only in criminal but also in civil trials. Here there were naturally two parties, a plaintiff and a defendant. Each conducted his own case, producing evidence documentary or personal. The judge or judges, having heard the case, gave their decision.¹

Under these circumstances it may be guessed that the procedure at the trial was of the simplest. The suspects, not a few of them innocent, as afterwards transpires, have been arrested, and in many cases their wives as well. They are brought one by one before the investigating magistrates, and questions, generally of quite a definite nature, are put to them. This process is known as *smtr*, and this is the only word used in these papyri for 'trial'.

The questioning was in most cases, however, assisted by some form of torture, and the close connexion existing in the Egyptian mind between the idea of questioning and that of some stimulant to truthful answer is evinced by such phrases as *smtr m knkn* 'to examine by beating'. The old English use of 'the question' for 'the torture' affords an interesting parallel.

The means employed to encourage witnesses to speak were mainly three, all of which are given in 10052, 5. 23 and again in

¹ See GARDINER, *Inscription of Mes*; *Ä.Z.*, lxiii, pp. 105 ff. (Pap. Mook); *Ä.Z.*, 1879, pp. 71 ff. (Pap. Berlin 3047); *Ä.Z.*, xliii, pp. 27 ff. (Pap. Berlin 9784-5, &c.); *J.E.A.*, xiii, pp. 30 ff. (Pap. Turin 2021); ERMAN, *Zwei Aktenstücke aus der thebanischen Gräberstadt* (Pap. Berlin 10496). For trial by divine oracle see ERMAN, *Zwei Aktenstücke aus der thebanischen Gräberstadt* (*Sitzungsber. d. Preuss. Akad.*, 1910, 336 ff.), and BLACKMAN in *J.E.A.*, xi, pp. 249 ff.; xii, pp. 176 ff.

7. 17. *Bdn*, generally determined by the wood sign, and used in the singular without the definite article (plural strokes Amherst, 3. 6), seems well established in the meaning of 'stick'. The construction used is either 'to examine with the stick' (*m bdn*) or explicitly 'to examine by beating with the stick' (*m knkn m bdn*).

Dnn only occurs in 10052 (5. 16, 23 and 7. 16, 17). It is used in the plural with definite article, and the phrase in which it occurs, 'to examine with the *dnn*', gives no clue as to its precise meaning. It is tempting, however, to equate *dnn* with *dnr* (*dl*), BURCHARDT, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte*, No. 1222, assuming the doubled *n* to stand for an *l*. *Dnr* has with high probability been identified by Burchardt with Coptic $\alpha\alpha$, a twig, an identification accepted by SPIEGELBERG, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 266. *N*; *dnn* would then be in effect a kind of birch-rod. Whether the use of *dnn* given by BURCHARDT under No. 1221 is derived from this seems uncertain.

The third instrument of torture was already known from Amherst in the verbal form *mn* or *mcn*, the phrase being *irw mn rdwi-w dt-w*, 'their feet and hands were . . . ed' (cf. 10054 vs., 1. 5). The Berlin *Wb.*, II, 47, relying probably on the Amherst passages alone, gives the meaning of this verb as 'schlagen', 'die Bastonade geben'. Yet the contrast in Amherst 3. 6-7 between *knkn m bdn*, 'beating with a stick', and the immediately following 'their feet and hands were . . . ed' suggests that *mn* is not a form of beating. In 10052 we find not the verb *mn* but a noun *mn* determined once by 𐤌 and twice by 𐤌 , and preceded by the definite article. The writing of two *n*'s suggests the possibility of connexion with *mcnn* 'to twist' or similar.¹ Was *p*; *mn* the wooden object in which one so often sees the wrists of prisoners of war made fast? The shape of this certainly suggests that it was adapted for twisting in case of insubordination.

Mayer A, 1. 18 and 21, also mentions the application to hands and feet of the *ik* (fem. noun).

The torment, of what ever kind it might be, was continued until the witness said 'Stop, I will tell'. His statement then follows. Should this prove unsatisfactory a further beating or torturing takes place, and this is in some cases even followed by a third. This generally elicits the required information. If not

¹ In Pap. Turin, P.R. 33. 8, *mn* is used of the twisted form of the horns in the royal head-dress.

the section ends with the witness's statement 'I did not see it', or with the remark of the recording scribe, 'He would not confess' (10052, 11. 22).

We are not often told who is the author of the questions put to the examinee, for as a rule the indefinite third person is used, 'One said to him, Tell the story of your going to attack the tombs', &c. In a few cases in 10052, however, it is recorded that the vizier (3. 18, 4. 6, &c.) or one of the butlers (4. 1) put a question, and so occasionally did the two scribes of the Necropolis, who are not included among those mentioned as forming the examining body, but who were present, doubtless as representing the Necropolis interests (1. 19, 5. 14, 17).

Apart from *smtr*, 'to examine', these papyri, or some of them, use one other expression for the taking of evidence. It is *šsp r*, 'the taking of the statement' of so-and-so. This occurs in 10403, 1. 1, of statements taken not by a high official but by a scribe of the Necropolis (does this represent some sort of preliminary inquiry in the Necropolis itself?); in 10054, ro. 3. 7; 10053, ro. 7. 13; and throughout the Turin Diary. The complement of this expression is 'His statement was heard', *sdm r.f*, which actually follows it in 10054, ro. 3. 7: 'Taking the statement of the priest Penwenhab. His statement was heard. They said to him, What have you to say about this gold foil (?) . . . He replied, I went &c.' This phrase *šsp r* does not occur in any of the trials before the vizier and his associates, and the torture is never mentioned in connexion with it. This may of course be the merest accident. At the same time it is not impossible that there was a technical difference between a statement freely made and one made under the application of torture. The finding of fresh documents can alone decide this point.

For a 'statement' or 'deposition' there is one other phrase which these papyri use in common with many other documents of the same and even earlier date, that is the word *ddtn*, literally 'that which X said', clearly a survival in legal phraseology of an old feminine (neuter) perfective relative form. At this period it has become fully established as a plural noun and it is preceded by the plural definite article, *nj ddtn*.¹

¹ In 10053 ro. all the depositions of the thieves are headed *nj ddtn X* except the second statement of Hori (7. 13), which is called a *šsp r*. As it is of precisely the same type as the rest, *nj ddtn* and *šsp r* would seem to be here exact equivalents.

In addition to the torture there was one other means which was presumably supposed to be effective in eliciting the truth, namely, the giving of an oath. This was not, however, a substitute for the torture, for in very many cases both means were employed. The name used for the oath is *ṛnh n nb*, literally 'Life of the Lord', i.e. the king. The origin of this form lies, as is well known, in an oath by the life of the king, and often of a god as well, e.g. 'As Re lives and as the King lives, I will &c.' Here the word *ṛnh*, 'lives', is a verb; in the later form, *ṛnh n nb*, it is clearly a noun, and we must either suppose that the word has already acquired its sense of 'oath' or that the phrase is short for '(an oath by) the life of the Lord'.

Either the witness is said to take (*irt*) the oath or the oath is said to be given to him (*diditw nf*). The simplest form of oath adds only the words 'not to speak falsehood' *tm* (or *r tm*) *dd ḏd*. Sometimes some hint of the penalty to be incurred in case of a broken oath is given: for example, 'on condition of his being mutilated', *r ḥšb-f* (Mayer A, *passim*), i.e. having his nose and ears cut off, as is sometimes actually detailed (10052, 14. 24). Two other penalties are specified; one is that of being placed on the stake (*tp ht*), for which see below, p. 27, and the other is that of being sent to Kush, or, more fully, to the battalion (*twrit*)¹ of Kush (Ethiopia and Upper Nubia), by which we must understand either a garrison in some such remote place as Kerma, or perhaps a troop of conscripted labourers who worked in the Nubian gold mines.

There are not many variants from these forms of oath. In 10052, 2. 15, a prisoner's oath is given in his own words: 'He said, As Amūn endures and as the Ruler endures, if it be found that there was any man with me whose name I have concealed, let his punishment be done to me'. In 10053, vs. 2. 18, we find 'If ever in the future I go back upon my statement let me be sent to Kush', and 10052, 15. 17 has 'If it be found that I had anything to do with the thieves may I be put on the stake'. As a rule, however, the oath is recorded in the most formal terms in that curious mixture of first and third person in which the Egyptians indulged whenever confronted with the problem of reported speech.

¹ SPIEGELBERG, *Stud. u. Mat.*, p. 70, read this as 'the labour (*nj bkwt*) of Kush'. Battalion (*twrit*) is, however, certain.

The persons examined in these trials included not only the criminals, but also witnesses of the crime and of the disposal of stolen property, and persons who had been seen by others in the proximity of places or tombs found to have been plundered. In one or two cases a confusion of names seems to have led to the arrest of a guiltless party (10052, 14. 25). All witnesses, whether believed guilty or not, appear to have received much the same treatment in the examination, and more than one honest citizen had to undergo a beating, or even two, before he was 'found to be innocent of connexion with the thieves and set at liberty' (10052, 4. 14, 14. 21). Where a criminal had died his son or his wife could be examined as to his doings (Mayer A, 2. 10, 2. 17, 3. 1). A servant, too, could be examined concerning his master (10052, 7. 2, 10. 16).

A device frequently used by the judges is that of the confrontation of witnesses with one another. A suspect occasionally pleads innocence and adds 'Let there be brought a man to accuse me' (10052, 14. 5), or 'Let him who has accused me be brought'. In some cases the court seems to have no reply to this, but in others the accuser is at once brought and makes his accusation. In one case a number of prisoners are brought in together in order that they may accuse one another (10052, 6. 16). In another case (10052, 2A. 7) a prisoner asks that one of his fellows should be brought to corroborate his statement: the man is at once brought and 'makes one with him', i.e. corroborates his statement.

No one who reads the trial of 10052 and Mayer A will doubt that these more than third-degree methods of questioning elicited an enormous amount of correct information. To what extent they were unsuccessful, either through failing to get important evidence or through getting false statements, it is hard to say. In 10052, 14. 20-1, we read of a man who had told a female witness to 'confess nothing and I shall get off', but unfortunately this statement was overheard and reported to the examiners. Once and once only (Mayer A, 6. 17) we find a man who, when confronted by men whom he had accused, withdraws the accusation, adding, 'I said it from fear'. But these are the only instances which throw doubt on the value of the methods used, and the long list of condemned at the end of Mayer A is a striking testimony to the efficiency of the methods used by the Egyptian Scotland Yard.

4. With whom lay the power of sentence and what was the punishment awarded?

On these matters we have unfortunately very little evidence, mainly owing to the fact that our papyri are little more than records of the actual evidence given at the trial. It so happens, however, that in the case of the most fully recorded of the trials, that of 10052-Mayer A-10403, we are given some insight into the sentences through the series of lists with which Mayer A closes. These lists, however, are not without their difficulties, as will presently appear, even when we study them with the whole of the evidence before our eyes. List B 2 (I deal here only with the trial for thefts from the cemetery) consists of six names and is headed, 'The thieves of the Necropolis who were examined and found to have been in the Places', i.e. the tombs. These then are the men found guilty on the main charge of theft from tombs. List B 3 gives us two men who received some silver when they threatened exposure (?)¹ . . . 'though they did not go'. This is explained by 10052, 5. 18-19, where a thief states that he and his companions gave some silver to these two men 'when they heard of it, though they did not go with us to this tomb'. These two men are thus acquitted on the main charge, but condemned for receiving silver known to be stolen.

B 4 has a puzzling title, 'The list of the thieves who were brought from the place in which Pharaoh² was and examined, though the thieves said they were not with them, and who went downstream.' The men in this list, with one exception, Nesprēr the brewer, are connected with what I have called the Efnamūn incident (see commentary on 10052, p. 137), but our knowledge seems insufficient to explain the heading of the list. Who were the thieves who said that these men (also called thieves) were not with them? Were they the six thieves of List B 2? Where was Pharaoh at this time? Clearly not in Thebes. And why did the men go downstream? All these are problems.

List B 5 seems to be a summing up of the whole position. Of the seven men previously placed³ on the stake we know nothing, nor yet of the fifteen killed in the fighting in the Northern District, the three slain by Peinhesi, and the two who were *hr n hr*, whatever

¹ The first word after *m ḡr trl-w* in Mayer A, 12. 9 seems to be *wṛwṛ*. See Berlin *Wb.*, i. 249.

² The reading is not quite certain, however.

³ My original reading *dl mt-w* 'put to death' can hardly be defended, but the sense is certain.

that may mean. Then follow 'Thieves who were imprisoned and are alive and well,'¹ nineteen men'. It can hardly be a coincidence that the total of Lists B 2 and B 4 is also nineteen. Next come six men who had escaped, and finally four 'whose case was decided'. That this decision took the form of acquittal is clear from the fact that two are definitely said to have been set free, while the charge against a third, Pnuferahau, was only that of washing a stolen garment for his master. The evidence of the fourth man, Pente-were (10052, 8. 25 ff.), is unfortunately mutilated, but we may presume that he too was acquitted.

These lists, while they afford a most interesting summing up of the trial, and incidentally show us that there had been previous trials of a similar nature as a result of which seven men had been put to death, do not teach us much about the course pursued by the authorities. The decisions were no doubt come to by the examining magistrates after hearing the evidence and perhaps consulting among themselves, though no record of this latter has survived. The punishment for tomb-robbery, a crime doubly heinous since it involved the damaging or even destruction of the bodies of the dead, can have been no other than death. If evidence for this were needed, we have that of List B 5 just quoted, and that of 10052, 8. 19-20, where a witness says 'I saw the punishment which was done to the thieves in the time of the vizier Khaemwēse. Am I the man to go looking for death when I know what it means?' Yet the thieves are not put to death instantly, for we have just seen that nineteen of them are in prison 'alive and well'. The probable reason for this is that these death sentences were all referred to Pharaoh for confirmation before being carried out. This trial, as we saw above, had been entrusted by Pharaoh to a body of officials presided over by the vizier. What more natural than that this body should try the culprits, perhaps release the innocent on their own responsibility, but refer the guilty to Pharaoh for his doom? Some such process is indicated in Amherst, 3. 9, where we read 'Their examination and their condemnation was put in writing, and a despatch was sent to Pharaoh concerning it by the vizier, the butler, the herald and the prince of Thebes'. It would of course be unfair to draw from evidence of this kind the conclusion that capital punishment in Egypt could only be inflicted by order of the king. These are

¹ 'h' rd-wi-w 'standing (on) their feet' seems to be the reading.

state trials of very great importance, almost as important no doubt as that which dealt with the *harîm* conspiracy under Ramesses III. The express manner in which in this latter trial the king delegated his power of life and death to a chosen body of judges makes it highly probable that in normal cases it was a privilege which he reserved to himself.

Little is known as to the method by which a death sentence was carried out in Ancient Egypt.¹ The evidence of Mayer A, 13 B. 1 is therefore important on this point. We are told that seven men had previously been put to death 'on the stake', *hr tp ht*. This punishment is often referred to in the oath, the phrase being 'If I be found to have spoken untruth may I be placed upon the *tp ht*', *didî-tw r* or *hr tp ht* (10052, 7. 3, 8. 26, &c.; the preposition *r* or *hr* is often omitted). Now *tp ht* must be a compound noun meaning literally the 'top of the wood', and judging by the variant *mnî* 'stake' or 'peg' in Abbott, 6. 13 the punishment intended must be that of impaling.² We have no other evidence from Egyptian literature for this cruel practice, which was common enough in Mesopotamia.

¹ The enforced suicides of the *harîm* conspirators need not necessarily have been exceptional for criminals of such standing, but would hardly be the fate of common tomb-robbers.

² Černý makes the clever suggestion that the word *dph* of Pap. Berlin 10496, vs. 5, is a writing of the compound *tp-ht*. See ERMAN, *Zwei Aktenstücke*, p. 334.

GROUP I

THIS group consists of two papyri known by the names of Abbott and Amherst respectively. They are intimately connected the one with the other. Papyrus Abbott records an inspection of tombs, royal and otherwise, prompted by reports of plundering, together with certain events arising out of this inspection and involving various Theban officials and the staff of the Necropolis. Papyrus Amherst records among other things the confession of certain thieves concerned in the plundering of the tomb of King Sebekemsaf, a tomb actually examined and found to be violated by the commission of Pap. Abbott. This confession does not form by any means the whole content of Pap. Amherst, but it is sufficient to show the intimate connexion of the two documents constituting this group. The full bearing of the two papyri on each other can only be properly understood by a detailed examination of their contents.

Another papyrus, B.M. 10054, which is here dealt with under Group II, is distantly connected with this group inasmuch as the thieves whose exploits it records are mainly identical with those of Amherst.

THE ABBOTT PAPYRUS

DESCRIPTION AND CONTENTS

The document known as Papyrus Abbott is preserved in the British Museum, where it bears the number 10221. A good facsimile of it was published in 1860 in *Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character from the Collection of the British Museum*, Part II, Plates I-VIII. In this volume the papyrus is stated to have been bought in 1857 from Dr. Abbott of Cairo, on the advice and by the aid of Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson. No information is given as to its original provenance. It is a magnificent piece of papyrus, 218 cm. in length and 42.5 cm. in height, now mounted in two halves under glass. It is in admirable condition except for the facts that it has a narrow and unimportant gap from end to end about the middle (the finders must have cut or broken the roll into two), and that the right-hand end, which formed the outside of the roll, is somewhat broken up and has even lost a few fragments.

The writing is a fine large upright script tending in places to slope a little downwards from right to left. It does not preserve throughout the fine character which it shows in the first two lines, but it never degenerates into true cursiveness. It is stated by Möller* to be apparently the same script as that of Pap. Amherst, and there seems no reason to dispute this opinion. Red ink is very sparingly used.

The main document consists of seven pages written on the true recto of the papyrus, i.e. the side on which the main fibres run horizontally. On the verso of pp. 6 and 7 are three lists of names written in a much more cursive script. The writing is the same way up as that of the recto and is arranged in two columns, that on the right being separated from the edge of the papyrus by a margin of 17 cm. These lists are a later addition and have no direct connexion with the contents of the recto. As they are very much more cursively written a comparison with the script of the recto is almost impossible, and it can only be said that there is nothing to indicate that they are by the same hand. Red ink is not used on the verso.

These two columns are generally spoken of as the Abbott Dockets. They are intimately connected with our Group V, consisting of Pap. Mayer A, Pap. B.M. 10052 and 10403, in which group they will be treated. They occupy Pl. VIII of *Select Papyri*, Part II.

CHABAS published an able commentary on the papyrus in his *Mélanges égyptologiques*, 3e série, tome i, 1870, pp. 52-142, going far beyond BIRCH's original article in *Revue archéologique*, 1ère série, tome xvi, 1859, pp. 257 ff.; but the first translation which attained anything like completeness was that of MASPERO given in 'Une enquête judiciaire à Thèbes au temps de la XXe dynastie', published in tome viii of *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles Lettres* in 1871. See too ERMAN in *Ä.Z.*, 1879, pp. 81-3. The most recent study from the archaeological point of view is WINLOCK's article, 'The tombs of the Kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes', in *J.E.A.*, x, 217 ff.

The contents of the Abbott Papyrus, which at first sight appear fairly straightforward, prove on close examination to involve some puzzles. It will be advisable first to state briefly the events recorded and afterwards to study the difficulties to which they give rise.

* *Hieratische Paläographie*, ii, p. 14.

The events related cover four days, from the 18th to the 21st of the third inundation month of Year 16 of Neferkerē^r Ramesses IX.

Day 18. 1.1-4.10. A commission consisting of the inspectors (*rwḏw*) of the Necropolis together with the scribe of the vizier and the scribe of the overseer of Pharaoh's treasury is sent to examine 'the graves of the kings of old and the tombs of the blessed ones [of times gone by on] the West of Nō'. This commission is sent by the vizier Khaemwēse, the royal butler Nesamūn, the steward of the House of the Divine Votaress and the royal butler Neferkerēremperamūn. The reason of its sending is a report made concerning certain thieves by Pewer^{ro}, prince of the West of Nō and chief of Mazoi of the Necropolis, to the vizier, the notables and the butlers. A list of the members of the commission is appended: it is headed by the name of Pewer^{ro} himself.

A list of the royal tombs inspected now follows,* consisting of two of the Eleventh Dynasty, seven of the Seventeenth and one of the Eighteenth. This last is that of Amenhotpe I, which the prince of Thebes Pesiūr had reported to the four high officials who sent out the commission and to the notables as having been violated:† it was, however, found to be intact. So, too, were the other royal tombs examined, with the exception of that of King Sebekemsaf, which was found to have been violated. Four tombs of chantresses of the House of the Divine Votaress were examined, of which two were found to have been disturbed. Of the tombs of lesser personages investigated all were found to have been violated. The commission reported to this effect to the four officials who had sent them out and to the great notables. Pewer^{ro} produced, apparently the same day, a list of the thieves, who were imprisoned and, on examination, confessed what had occurred.

Day 19. 4.11-5.11. The vizier Khaemwēse and the royal butler Nesamūn went in person to the Place of Beauty, i.e. the Valley of the Tombs of the Queens, to examine the tombs of the royal children, royal wives, and royal mothers. They took with

* For this list see WINLOCK's admirable article in *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, x, pp. 217 ff.

† Mr. Winlock thinks that all the ten royal tombs examined had been specifically mentioned in Pesiūr's charges, this fact being omitted except in the case of the first (Amenhotpe I) for the sake of brevity. He asks why otherwise certain other royal tombs existing in the same area were not examined (op. cit., pp. 223 and 265). None of these other tombs can be definitely proved, however, to have lain in the area visited, and even if they did their whereabouts may have been unknown to the Egyptians of the Twentieth Dynasty. See, too, my translation of 6. 2 and note thereto. In charging the Necropolis people with allowing Amenhotpe's tomb to be robbed Pesiūr was accusing them of failing to protect the body of their own patron saint from violation.

them a certain coppersmith called Peikharu who had been arrested with two others near these tombs and examined in Year 14 by the then vizier Nebmarēnakht. This man had now (not in the original examination, be it noted) stated that he had committed thefts in the tomb of Isis, the queen of Ramesses III. On arrival in the valley the coppersmith was told to show the tomb from which he had stolen, but proved, despite a beating, unable to point to any spots known to him except a tomb which had never been used and a workman's hut. The seals of all the tombs in the valley were examined and found intact. Thereupon the notables caused the inspectors and the staff of the Necropolis to go round the West of Thebes as far as Thebes itself in a great procession or demonstration of joy at the vindication of the integrity of the Necropolis and its keepers.

The same day, in the evening. 5.12-5.18. The prince of Thebes Pesiūr in company with the royal butler Nesamūn met certain officials of the Necropolis and was drawn into an exchange of words with them. He indicated that the demonstration which they had made was in reality aimed at him personally, and added that they had less cause for satisfaction than they imagined, for the two scribes of the Necropolis had told him of five serious violations, about which he proposed to inform Pharaoh.*

Day 20. 5.19-6.24. This conversation had apparently been overheard by Pewerco, who now placed before the vizier a written statement which is quoted *in extenso*. It contains a more detailed report of the conversation, a denunciation of the two scribes of the Necropolis for having taken their charges to Pesiūr instead of to the vizier, as was customary, and a request that the five charges should be investigated immediately.

Day 21. 7.1-7.16. The Great Court of Thebes is summoned. Pesiūr is one of its members. The coppersmith Peikharu and his two accomplices are produced. The vizier tells the court that Pesiūr had made certain charges on the nineteenth in presence of the butler Nesamūn referring to the tombs in the Place of Beauty. Yet, he adds, when the butler Nesamūn and I went there and

* It is a most remarkable fact that the incident dated by Amherst (3. 7-8) to this day, namely the visit paid to the West of Thebes by the vizier Khaemwēse and the royal butler Nesamūn, when the thieves of the tomb of Sebekemsaf identified the scene of their crime, is completely omitted from Abbott. This latter tomb, in the Dirā' Abu el-Negā, was doubtless visited on the way to or from the Valley of the Queens, and yet Abbott is silent about it.

examined the tombs which Pesiūr said had been attacked by the copper-smiths we found them intact, and all that Pesiūr said was found to be incorrect. The copper-smiths were then examined and found to know 'no tomb in the Place of Pharaoh' concerning which Pesiūr had made charges. He was shown to be in the wrong, the notables released the copper-smiths and drew up a report of the proceedings which was deposited in the archives of the vizier.

The clue to the correct understanding of this story lies, as all the commentators have seen, in the realization of the role played by the prince of Thebes Pesiūr. He appears as the enemy of the staff of the Necropolis,* and in particular of their chief, the prince of the West of Thebes, chief of Mazoi of the Necropolis, Powerro. The origin of this personal feud, if such it be, is of no interest to us. If we read the whole document carefully we can hardly escape the conclusion that it is a biased account written from the point of view of Powerro. Pesiūr's charges are made light of when they are true and serve as a subject for noisy exultation when they are found (or said to be found) false. The story ends with his complete discomfiture in front of a board of which he is himself a member. The more closely we look into the document the more obvious its partiality becomes. Let us take it in detail.

Day 18. The commission is said to have been sent in pursuance of certain reports concerning thieves made by Powerro. Yet from 2.4-7 it is clear that thefts in one tomb at least had been denounced by Pesiūr.† We suspect that Powerro had heard of his rival's intention to force an investigation and attempted to forestall him by himself asking for a commission of inquiry: at any rate he succeeded in getting himself quoted in this document as the author of the commission. At the end of this day's commission it will be noted that there was no demonstration on the part of the Necropolis staff. Presumably the discovery of the robberies in the tomb of Sebekemsaf and of the violation of two tombs of chantresses and all the lesser tombs more than outweighed the discovery that Pesiūr's charge concerning the tomb of Amenhotpe I was unfounded. Apparently, from 2.5-10, the commission's report, the arrest of the thieves and their questioning and con-

* Hardly, however, of its two scribes, or why did they report thefts to him?

† We learn from 10054, vs. 1. 1 ff. that only four days previously Pesiūr had sat as a judge with Khaemwese, Nesamūn, and another official in a trial for thefts in the private tombs.

fession were all rushed through on this day. Pewerco and his staff no doubt regarded their ability to produce the delinquents as a distinct triumph over their enemy Pesiūr. Papyrus Amherst contains part of the confession of the thieves of the tomb of Sebekemsaf, and further records the identification by the thieves of the scene of their crime on the nineteenth, an event wholly omitted by Abbott. We have no means of knowing whether these were the only thieves questioned as a result of the commission or whether those of the less important tombs were also arrested.

Day 19. The events of this day must be most carefully distinguished from those of the 18th. On the 18th a commission sent out by the four chief officials of the Theban area had made a tour mainly confined to the Dirâ' Abu el-Nagâ and Dêr el-Baḥrî. On the 19th the vizier himself and the royal butler Nesamūn visited the Place of Beauty, now known as the Valley of the Queens. They made their inspection in pursuance of the statement made to them by a coppersmith, Peikharu (who had previously been arrested in Year 14 as a suspect for loitering near the tombs), to the effect that he had stolen from the tomb of Queen Isis. Now if we turn to 7. 11-12 we find that it was Pesiūr who had stated that certain tombs had been violated by Peikharu and his two companions. How are we to explain this inconsistency, and why should Peikharu go out of his way to accuse himself of a crime which he had not committed? Is it possible that Pesiūr had indeed made the charge, but that Peikharu was innocent and only made a confession in order to escape from the torment of the questioning? At any rate, when taken to the Valley of the Queens he was unable to identify the tomb of Queen Isis or indeed any other, and could only show an unused tomb and a workman's hut as the places 'in which I was'. These were, perhaps, the very places in which he had been accused of loitering two years previously. This man's story rings true, and we may infer that Pesiūr, anxious to discredit the Necropolis people by accusations of irregularity in the Valley of the Queens, as well as elsewhere in their domain, picked on the suspects of Year 14 as suitable tools for his design. It is possible that, though he had accused the wrong persons, yet the accusation itself was justified, for we have no guarantee that the inspection by the vizier and the butler was an honest one: it is indeed a curious fact that, just a year less two days

later, this very tomb of Queen Isis was found by the Necropolis inspectors to have been sacked (Turin Journal of Year 17, recto B, 8. 2 ff.).* We cannot help wondering whether an unbiased commission would not have discovered the sacrilege a year earlier.

The negative result of this day's examination is followed by a demonstration of delight by the Necropolis staff, instigated, however, by the great notables. That it is directed against Pesiūr personally is clear from its extension to the east bank, where it reaches the very door of his house. He is himself under no delusions as to the significance of the demonstration, which he characterizes as an exultation over himself. He adds that the two scribes of the Necropolis have made five charges against the Necropolis people and that he is reporting them to Pharaoh.

Day 20. The conversation of Pesiūr with the workmen is to be supplemented from the contents of Pwerro's deposition of complaint concerning it. Apparently Pesiūr had pointed out to the Necropolis people one weakness of their position which is obvious to the unbiased reader, namely, that whatever may have been the results of the examination of day 19 in the Valley of the Queens, that of the commission of day 18 in and around the Dirâ' Abu el-Nagâ was not to be ignored, for the tomb of King Sebekemsaf had been found to be violated. We also learn from this document that of the five charges three had been made by Horisherî and two by Pebes.

This conversation contains no serious difficulties except in the detail of the translation. What, however, were the five charges? Were they the original charges on which Pesiūr had based his attack on the Necropolis people, or were they fresh charges which he intended to pursue. In other words, did Pesiūr acknowledge himself defeated so far, but determine to unmask fresh batteries, or did he imply that his charges had not been honestly met, that the examination had been 'cooked', and that he intended to carry the matter to a higher authority, namely, the Pharaoh? The events of day 21 ought to decide this point.

Day 21. Pwerro has laid before the vizier a complaint that

* BOTTI-PEET, *Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe*, p. 26, n. 4. The fact that this lady is here, as in Pap. Abbott, called both royal mother and royal wife seems to preclude the possibility that the tomb meant is No. 51 of the Valley of the Queens, which was given by the favour of Ramesses VI to a 'royal mother, Lady of the Two Lands Isis', daughter of a man called *Hblgnt*: this Isis has generally been taken to be the king's own mother. See SETHE, *Untersuchungen*, ii, 62.

Pesiūr in his conversation with the workmen is still making accusations. The vizier meets this by summoning the Great Court of Thebes, of which Pesiūr is himself a member. The three copper-smiths who had been arrested in Year 14 as suspects, and one of whom, Peikharu, had been examined in the Valley of the Queens on day 19, are brought in. The vizier tells the court that Pesiūr in his conversation with the workmen had made statements concerning the Valley of the Queens (the first intimation in our papyrus that Pesiūr's charges of the 19th were concerned with this area of the Necropolis) and that he himself and the butler Nesamūn had examined the valley and found the tombs intact. Moreover, the accused coppersmiths are present, let the Court examine them. They are questioned and found to know of no tomb in the Place of Pharaoh (a wider term for the whole Necropolis?)* concerning which Pesiūr had made statements. Thus Pesiūr was discomfited.

Is this a sufficient answer to Pesiūr's accusations, and what light does it throw on them? Supposing that Pesiūr's five charges were merely a reiteration of those made before, and that the vizier is honest in referring them solely to the Valley of the Queens, the line taken by the vizier at the Court is, 'These charges cannot be true for two reasons: (1) I have myself found the tombs in the valley to be intact, and (2) the coppersmiths whom Pesiūr accused by name (we have only the vizier's word for this) have been examined and found innocent, and when examined again by you will be again found so. Supposing on the other hand that Pesiūr

* Unfortunately we do not know what this Place of Pharaoh, *st Pr-ḥt*, is. It is mentioned in the Turin Journal of Year 17 (BOTTI-PEET, *Il Giornale*, p. 22, 1 B ro., lines 1-4), but the lacunae make the passage obscure and it is not even certain whether the Great Place of Pharaoh, *st ḥt n Pr-ḥt*, mentioned in line 4, is the same thing or not. The Great Place simply is referred to in the graffiti on the mummies of Seti I and Ramesses II (MASPERO, *Les momies royales*, pp. 553, 557) as being the place in which was the tomb of Queen Inhapi (not also that of Amenhotpe I, as WINLOCK states in *J.E.A.*, x, p. 220, n. 2, for the passage surely means that the body of Amenhotpe lay in the tomb of Inhapi, not that his tomb lay in the Great Place). The Great Place would thus appear to be a part of the Necropolis. The Great Place of Pharaoh and the Place of Pharaoh may be distinct both from this and from one another. ČERNÝ, in *Bull. Inst. fr. d'arch. or.*, xxvii, p. 161, states that the Great Place is, under the Eighteenth Dynasty, a synonym for the Place of Truth, *st mḥt*, which latter, at any rate in the phrase 'Servants of the Place of Truth', is identical with the Necropolis in general. He gives, however, no evidence for this statement, and the title of the owner of Tomb 8 in the Gardiner-Weigall list proves nothing. Cf. GAUTHIER, *Dict. géog.*, v, 71.

The word *st* is constantly used in these papyri for a royal tomb, often with the epithet great, *ḥt*, e.g. Abbott, 4. 11; 100052, 11. 15. This use, however, can have no bearing on the phrases discussed above, in which the word *st*, 'place', clearly has a more general meaning. In Pap. Turin, P.R. 44. 17, *ḥt st Pr-ḥt* might well be a name for the Necropolis as a whole, as perhaps also in Pap. Salt 124, ro. 1. 16 and 2. 7 (*J.E.A.*, xv, p. 248, n. 29).

was really threatening fresh charges concerning the Valley of the Queens, we may take the vizier's tactics to be as follows: 'My own examination and the innocence of the coppersmiths prove that Pesiūr was wrong in his original charges. Can we, then, take seriously any further accusations which he may make? Either of these might be the correct view, and it is hard to see how we could decide between them. At the same time the more natural interpretation of 5. 17 and 6. 9-13 is to suppose a reference to fresh charges.

Despite all these difficulties, one thing seems clear. We know from other papyri that the state of things existing in the Necropolis at this period was disgraceful. Pesiūr may have been a pious Egyptian who was shocked at the sacrilege, but it is more probable that he seized the opportunity of venting some private spite on Pewerō and others of the Necropolis staff. He had, however, miscalculated the strength of his rival, for Pewerō enlisted the sympathies of the higher officials, whether by bribes or by some less expensive method we cannot tell, and a combination was formed against Pesiūr. The commission of day 18 consisted entirely of officials of the Necropolis accompanied by the scribe of the vizier and the scribe of the treasurer, these two holding probably only a watching brief. Even so the condition of Sebekemsaf's tomb was too obvious for concealment. The examination of the day 19 was conducted by the vizier and a butler alone. The great notables themselves instigated the demonstration against Pesiūr (5. 10-11), and the meeting of the Court on day 21 reads like a carefully staged scene intended to discredit Pesiūr, whose charges are never even specified. The fact that just a year later the tomb of Queen Isis was found to be violated leads us to wonder whether the vizier and butler had been as strict or as honest in their examination as they might have been.

What, in conclusion, is the exact nature of the document itself? It is not, as Breasted suggests (*Anc. Records*, iv, § 509), the official abstract of the case taken from the vizier's files, for we are expressly told in 7. 16 that a report was drawn up (whether of the whole case or only of the proceedings of day 21 in the Great Court is not quite clear) and deposited in the archives of the vizier. Obviously Papyrus Abbott itself cannot be that document. Moreover, in lines 10, 12, 13, and 15 of page 1 certain officials are stated

to be officers 'of this temple'. The papyrus was thus written in, and intended for the archives of, a temple, and we shall run little risk of error if we identify the temple with that of Ramesses III at Medīnat Habu, which on other grounds we know to have been the centre of the Necropolis administration at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty.

TRANSLATION (Plates I-IV)

Page 1 (Pl. 1)

(1) [Year 16], third month of the inundation season, [day] 18, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Neferkerēr Setpenrēr, life, prosperity and health, Son of Rēr, Lord of Risings, (2) [Ramessu] ¹ Miamūn, life, prosperity and health, beloved of [Am]enrēr King of the Gods and of Rēr Horus of the Horizon, endowed with life for ever and eternity. (3) [On this day were sent the] inspectors of the Great and Noble Necropolis, the scribe of the vizier, the scribe of the overseer of the treasury of Pharaoh, (4) [to examine] the graves [of the] kings of old and the tombs and resting-places of the blessed ones (5) [of days gone by, which are on the] West of Nō, by the prefect of Nō and vizier Khaemwēse, the royal butler Nesamūn scribe of (6) [Pharaoh, the stew]ard of the House of the Divine Votaress of Amenrēr King of the Gods, the royal butler Neferkerēremperamūn herald of Pharaoh (7) . . . ² thieves [of] the West of Nō whom the prince Pewerō chief of Mazoi of the Great and Noble Necropolis (8) [of Thousands of Years of] Pharaoh [on] the West of Thebes had reported to the vizier, the notables and the butlers of Pharaoh.

- (9) . . . sent this day. The prince Pewerō, chief of Mazoi of the Necropolis.
 (10) [Chief of Ma]zoi Bekurel of this temple.
 (11) . . . i of the [Necro]polis.
 (12) . . . of . . . this temple.
 (13) . . . [of] this temple.
 (14) . . . amūn.
 (15) Chief of Mazoi Mentukhepeshef of this temple.
 (16) The scribe Perenbik of the vizier.
 (17) The scribe and warehouse-keeper Paiinefer of the overseer of the treasury.
 (18) The prophet Pa'ankhew of the temple of Amenhotpe.
 (19) The prophet Seramūn of the wine department ³ of the temple of Amūn.
 (20) The Mazoi of the Necropolis who are with them.

Page 2 (Pl. 1)

- (1) The pyramids, graves and tombs examined this day by the inspectors.
 (2) The eternal horizon of King Zeserka (*sic*), Son of Rēr Amenhotpe,

which measures 120 cubits (3) in depth from its stela (?) called Paraḳa,⁴ north of the House of Amenhotpe of (4) the Garden, concerning which the prince of Nō Pesiūr had reported to the prefect of Nō and vizier Khaemwēse (5) and to the royal butler Nesamūn scribe of Pharaoh, and to the steward of the House of the Divine Votaress of Amenrē King of the Gods, (6) and to the royal butler Neferkerē'emperamūn herald of Pharaoh, and to the great notables, saying, (7) The thieves have violated it. Examined this day; it was found intact by these inspectors.

(8) The pyramid-tomb of King Si-Rē Inro, which is north of the House of Amenhotpe of the Court, (9) and whose pyramid has been removed from it, but its stela is still fixed in front of it and the (10) figure of the king stands on this stela with his dog called Behhek between his feet. (11) Examined this day: it was found intact.

(12) The pyramid-tomb of King Nubkheperre, Son of Rē Intef. It was found (13) in course of being bored into by the thieves, they having made a tunnel of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits in its north side⁵ (14) from the outer hall of the rock-tomb of the overseer of offerings Iuri⁶ of the temple of Amūn, (15) who is dead. It was intact: the thieves had not succeeded in penetrating it.

(16) The pyramid-tomb of King Sekhemrēwepmaat, Son of Rē Intefro. It was found (17) in course of being bored into by the thieves at the point where its stela is set into its pyramid. (18) Examined this day. It was found intact, the thieves not having succeeded in penetrating it.

Page 3 (Pl. II)

(1) The pyramid-tomb of King Sekhemrēshedtauī, Son of Rē Sebkem-saf. (2) It was found to have been violated by the thieves by tunnelling in the *nfrw*-chamber⁷ of its (3) pyramid from the outer hall of the rock-tomb of Nebamūn, overseer of the granary of King Menkheperre. (4) The burial chamber⁸ of the king was found empty of its lord and likewise the burial-chamber of the great royal wife (5) Nubkhas his consort, the thieves having laid their hands on them. The vizier, (6) the notables and the butlers investigated the matter, and the nature of the attack which (7) the thieves had made on this king and his consort was discovered.

(8) The pyramid-tomb of King Seḳenenrē, Son of Rē Tarō. Examined this day (9) by the inspectors. It was found intact.

(10) The pyramid-tomb of King Seḳenenrē, Son of Rē Tarōro, making a second king Tarō. (11) Examined this day by the inspectors. It was found intact.

(12) The pyramid-tomb of King Wazkheperre, Son of Rē Kamōse. Examined this day. It was intact.

(13) The pyramid-tomb of King⁹ Ahmōse-Sapair. Examined. Found intact.

(14) The pyramid-tomb of King Nebhepetrēr, Son of Rēr Menthuhotpe, which is in Zeser.¹⁰ It was intact.

(15) Total: pyramid-tombs of the kings of old examined this day by the inspectors (16) and found to be intact, 9 pyramid-tombs: found to have been violated 1, total 10.

(17) The tombs of the chantresses of the House of the Divine Votaress of Amenrēr, King of the Gods. Found intact 2: (18) found to have been violated by the thieves 2, total 4.

Page 4 (Pl. III)

(1) The tombs and chambers in which rest the blessed ones of old, the citizenesses and citizens¹¹ (2) on the West of Thebes. It was found that the thieves had violated them all, dragging their owners (3) from their inner coffins and their outer coffins so that they were left on the desert, and stealing their funerary outfit which (4) had been given to them together with the gold and the silver and the fittings which were in their inner coffins.

(5) The prince and chief of Mazoi Pewērō of the Great and Noble Necropolis, together with the chiefs of Mazoi and the Mazoi (6) and the inspectors of the Necropolis, the scribe of the vizier, and the scribe of the overseer of the treasury who were with them made a report on them to (7) the prefect of Nō and vizier Khaemwēse, and to the royal butler Nesamūn scribe of Pharaoh, and to the steward of the House of the Divine Votaress of (8) Amenrēr King of the Gods, and to the royal butler Neferkerēr-emperamūn herald of Pharaoh, and to the great notables. (9) Pewērō, prince of the West and chief of Mazoi of the Necropolis, placed the list of the thieves in writing (10) before the vizier and the notables and the butlers. They were seized and imprisoned: they were examined, they told what had occurred.

(11) Year 16, third month of inundation, day 19. Day on which there went to examine the Great Tombs of the royal children and royal wives (12) and royal mothers which are in the Place of Beauty the prefect of Nō and vizier Khaemwēse and the royal butler Nesamūn scribe of Pharaoh, (13) after the coppersmith Peikharu, son of Khari whose mother is Mytsheri of the West of Nō, a man on the staff¹² of (14) the temple of Usimarēr Miamūn in the House of Amūn in charge of the chief priest of Amenrēr King of the Gods Amenhotpe, the man who had been found there (15) and arrested with two other men of the temple near the tombs, and who had been examined by the prefect of Nō and vizier Nebmarēr-nakht (16) in Year 14 had told them saying, I was in the tomb of the royal wife Ēse of King Usimarēr Miamūn: I brought away some (17) things from there and appropriated them. Now the vizier and the butler had this coppersmith taken in front of them to

Page 5 (Pl. III)

(1) the tombs, blindfolded as a close prisoner, and he was given his sight when he reached them. The notables (2) said to him, Go before us to the tomb from which you say you brought the things. And the coppersmith went before the notables (3) to a tomb of certain of ¹³ the royal children of King Usimarēr Setepenrēr the Great God, in which no burial had ever been made and which had been left open, (4) and also to the house of the workman Amenemōne son of Hui of the Necropolis, which is in that spot, saying, Behold the places in which I was. (5) The notables caused this coppersmith to be examined in most severe examination in the Great Valley, but it could not be (6) found that he knew of any place there save the two places he had pointed out. He took an oath on pain of being beaten, of having his nose (7) and ears cut off, and of being impaled,¹⁴ saying, I know of no place here among these tombs except this tomb which is open and (8) this house which I pointed out to you. The notables examined the seals of the Great Tombs which are in the Place (9) of Beauty, in which rest the royal children and royal wives and royal mothers, the noble ancestors and ancestresses of Pharaoh: (10) they were found intact. The great notables caused the inspectors, the sergeants and the workmen of the Necropolis and the chiefs of (11) Mazoi and the Mazoi and all the labourers of the Necropolis to go round the West of Nō in a great demonstration as far as Nō.

(12) Year 16, third month of the inundation season, day 19. On this day at eventide, near the temple of Ptah Lord of Thebes, there came the royal butler (13) Nesamūn scribe of Pharaoh, and the prince of Nō Pesiūr and met ¹⁵ the chief workman Userkhesh and the scribe Amennakht (14) and the workman Amenhotpe of the Necropolis. This prince of Nō said to the people of the Necropolis in the presence of the butler of Pharaoh, (15) As for this demonstration which you made to-day, what you were making was no demonstration at all, but your song of exultation.¹⁶ (16) So said he to them, and he made an oath before this butler of Pharaoh saying, The scribe Horisheru son of Amennakht (17) of the Necropolis of Khenkheni and the scribe Pebes of the Necropolis have told me five very grave capital charges against you, (18) and I am writing about them to Pharaoh my Lord in order that servants of Pharaoh may be sent to deal with all of you. So said he.

(19) Year 16, third month of the inundation season, day 20. Copy of the document which Pwerro prince of the West of Nō and chief of Mazoi of the Necropolis placed before the vizier (20) concerning the words which the prince of Nō Pesiūr spoke to the Necropolis people in front of the butler of Pharaoh and Peinozem the scribe of the overseer of the treasury.

(21) Deposition of Pwerro, prince of the West. I met the royal butler Nesamūn scribe of Pharaoh; Pesiūr prince of (22) Nō was with him, stand-

ing quarelling with the people of the Necropolis near the temple of Ptah Lord of Thebes. The prince of Nō said to the people

Page 6 (Pls. III-IV)

(1) of the Necropolis, 'You have rejoiced over me at the very door of my house. What do you mean by it? For I am the prince who reports to (2) the Ruler. If ¹⁷ you are rejoicing concerning this (tomb) in which you have been and examined it and found it intact,¹⁸ yet (3) <King> Sekhemshedtaui, Son of Rē Sebekemsaf has been violated, together with Nubkhaas his royal wife, a great ruler he, who (4) executed ten important pieces of work for Amenrē King of the Gods, that great god, his monuments lying in his midst this day.'¹⁹ (5) And the workman Userkhepesh, who is in the charge of the chief of workmen Nekhemmut of the Necropolis, replied saying, 'All the kings with their (6) royal wives and royal mothers and royal children who rest in the Great and Noble Necropolis together with those who rest in this Place of Beauty are intact; (7) they are protected and ensured for eternity. The sage counsel of Pharaoh their child guards and examines them strictly.'²⁰ (8) This prince of Nō answered him saying, 'Your deeds belie (?) your words.'²¹ But truly it is no light accusation which this (9) prince of Nō made. And this prince of Nō said to him again a second time, 'The scribe Horisheri son of Amennakht of the Necropolis of Khenkheni (10) came to this great side of Nō to where I was to make to me three (11) very serious charges, and my scribe and the two scribes of the quarter of Nō wrote them down.'²² And the scribe of the Necropolis Pebes made to me two further (12) charges, total five, and they wrote those down likewise, it being impossible to suppress them, for they are serious charges involving mutilation or (13) impaling or the severest penalties. And I am writing about them to Pharaoh my Lord (14) to cause him to send servants of Pharaoh to deal with you.' So said he to them, this prince of Nō. And he made ten oaths saying, (15) 'Verily I will do it'. I heard the words which this prince of Nō spoke to the people of the Great and Noble Necropolis of Millions of Years of (16) Pharaoh on the West of Thebes, and I report them to my Lord. For it would be a sin in one in my position (17) to hear a thing and to conceal it. Now I do not know the bearing of the very serious charges which the prince of Nō says (18) the scribes of the Necropolis of Kheni who move among the men made to him: truly I cannot (19) fathom them. But I report them to my lord, that my lord may get to the bottom of these charges which this prince of Nō said that (20) the scribes of the Necropolis made to him, and that he was writing concerning them to Pharaoh. It was an offence on the part (21) of these two scribes of the Necropolis that they should go to this prince of Nō to report to him whereas their predecessors never reported to him, (22) but they reported to the vizier when he was in the southern district, and if he chanced to be in the

northern district the Mazoi (and ?) His Majesty's (23) servants of the Necropolis went downstream to where the vizier was, carrying their documents. I bear witness for myself in Year 16 third month of the inundation season day 20 (24) concerning the words which I heard from this prince of Nō. I place them in a document before my lord in order to cause them to be investigated immediately.²³

Page 7 (Pl. IV)

(1) Year 16, third month of the inundation season, day 21. On this day in the Great Court of Nō beside the two upper stelae to the north of the Court of Amūn at the Gate of (2) Dwarekhit. Notables who sat on the Great Court of Nō on this day. (3) The prefect of Nō and vizier Khaemwēse; the chief priest of Amenrēr King of the Gods Amenhotpe; the (second?) prophet of Amenrēr King of the Gods and *sem*-priest Nesamūn²⁴ of the temple of Millions of Years (4) of King Neferkerēr Setpenrēr; the royal butler Nesamūn scribe of Pharaoh; the steward of the House of the Divine Votaress of Amenrēr King of the Gods; (5) the royal butler Neferkerēr-emperamūn herald of Pharaoh; the lieutenant-general Hori of the chariotry; the standard-bearer Hori (6) of the navy; the prince of Nō Pesiūr.

The prefect of Nō and vizier Khaemwēse caused to be brought the coppersmith Peikharu son of Khari (7) and the coppersmith Thari son of Khaemōpe and the coppersmith Peikamen son of Thari of the temple of Usimarēr Miamūn in the charge of the chief priest of Amūn. (8) Said the vizier to the great notables of the Great Court of Nō, This prince of Nō made certain charges to the (9) inspectors and the workmen of the Necropolis in Year 16, third month of the inundation, day 19, in the presence of the royal butler Nesamūn scribe of Pharaoh, (10) uttering statements about the Great Tombs which are in the Place of Beauty. Yet when I was there myself as vizier of the land²⁵ (11) together with the royal butler Nesamūn scribe of Pharaoh, we examined the tombs which the prince of Nō said had been attacked by the coppersmiths (12) of the temple of Usimarēr Miamūn in the House of Amūn and found them intact, and all that he had said was found to be false. Now behold, (13) the coppersmiths stand before you; let them tell all that happened. They were questioned, and the men were found (14) to know no tomb in the Place of Pharaoh²⁶ concerning which this prince had made statements: he was placed in the wrong concerning it. (15) The great notables released the coppersmiths of the temple of Usimarēr Miamūn and they were handed over to the chief priest of Amenrēr King of the Gods (16) Amenhotpe this day. A report was drawn²⁷ up; it is deposited in the archives of the vizier.

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

1. 1. 2. There is hardly room for Khaemwēse here, and yet there seems to be a trace of $\dot{\text{ḥ}}$.

2. 1. 7. It is not easy to see what is to be restored in the lacuna. $\text{ḥr } n\text{ṣ}$, 'on account of the thieves', is too short and somewhat feeble in sense. Perhaps $i\text{-th}$ (Rel. Form) $n\text{ṣ}$, 'which the thieves had violated', despite the separation of the relative from its antecedent by a prepositional clause. This reading need not imply that the thieves had robbed every tomb named.

3. 1. 19. The noun of wider denotation is placed first, as in $T\text{-}w\text{r } i\text{bdw}$, 'Abydos of the nome of Taur'.

4. 2. 3. $\text{ḥr}i$, unless it be a writing of $\text{ḥr}w$, 'a stela', is unknown. What we need is indeed either stela or some name for the structure which stood at the mouth of the tomb, from which its depth of 120 cubits into the mountain could be measured. Its name Paraka , 'The Height' or similar, indicates a conspicuous position. The tomb has been identified by Dr. Howard Carter with one found by Lord Carnarvon and himself in 1914 (*J.E.A.*, iii, pp. 147 ff.), but the manner in which he obtains 120 cubits for its depth does not inspire confidence. Is it possible that what he describes is the tomb of Nefertiri, of whose inscriptions it yielded no fewer than eight, as against nine of Amenhotpe I?

5. 2. 13. See note on Amherst, 2. 2.

6. 2. 14. An error for Shuri, according to Winlock's clever conjecture: see *J.E.A.*, x, p. 228.

7. 3. 2. See GARDINER, in *J.E.A.*, iv, p. 143, n. 4.

8. 3. 4. Cf. Amherst, 2. 1, Pap. Bulaq 10, ro. 1. 2.

9. 3. 13. See WINLOCK, in *J.E.A.*, x, p. 222, n. 3, for this man, who was probably a prince, not a king.

10. 3. 14. The 'bay' of Dêr el-Baḥrî.

11. 4. 1. $\text{ḥnh } n \text{ nwt}$ is a common phrase for 'inhabitant of a town', used both of men and women in the M.K., but exclusively of women in the Twentieth Dynasty. For $\text{rmt } n \text{ pṣ } t\text{ṣ}$ see note on 10054, vs. 2. 1. The two phrases together include all private, i.e. non-royal, persons, both male and female.

12. 4. 13. For rmt smdt cf. 10054, ro. 3. 3. smdt has here its more general meaning of 'staff', and not the specialized sense of 'labourers' (as opposed to permanent skilled workmen) which it bears in the Necropolis.

13. 5. 3. Or 'a common tomb of'. See Berlin *Wb.*, i. 221 *sub voc.* ḥr .

14. 5. 7. See above, p. 27.

15. 5. 13. Hardly a genuine sḏmmf -form. The n doubtless indicates that the m of the stem was already pronounced as n : cf. Coptic σine .

16. 5. 15. Gardiner is doubtless right (*Ä.Z.*, xli, p. 131 and note 6) in contrasting here wpwt , a justifiable demonstration of joy at the proved

integrity of the tombs, and *ihꜣi*, an expression of spiteful personal exultation over the author of the charges, though his argument that this view of *ihꜣi* is actually demanded by the account of the same incident given in 6. 1 is hardly cogent. The second determinative may be correct, and intended to emphasize the hostile nature of the outburst.

17. 6. 2. For *inn*, 'if', see note on 10052, 8. 5.

18. 6. 2. To translate 'If you are rejoicing over the fact that you have been there and examined it' is doubtful grammatically and leaves the suffix *f* without an antecedent. It also misses the point of the remark, namely that, though this particular tomb (that of Queen Isis or perhaps Amenhotpe I) was found intact, another almost as important was found to be robbed. *wn·tn* is a Relative Form, and *pꜣi* might even be taken as not neuter but masculine, if the tomb of Amenhotpe is meant, for Pesiūr may well be thinking of the king, not merely of his tomb, as in the case of Sebekemsaf just below.

19. 6. 4. This sentence has been very variably translated. The clue to it is that Pesiūr had accused the Necropolis people of allowing to be plundered not only a king, but a king peculiarly sacred in their eyes, namely, Amenhotpe, their patron saint. He has been found to be intact; but another king, retorts Pesiūr, has been robbed, and he a king little less important than Amenhotpe, for he made many monuments to Amūn which still exist. 'In his midst' must refer to Amūn, or, more exactly, to his temple.

20. 6. 7. To translate 'They are protected and ensured for eternity by the sage counsel of Pharaoh their child: they will withstand the severest examination', besides assuming the omission of the preposition *m*, 'by', before *nꜣ shꜣrw*, gives an indefensible meaning to *sꜣw*.

21. 6. 8. The translation usually given is, 'It is your own mighty deeds of which you speak'. This, assuming that the meaning given to *bwꜣt* is correct, is quite possible grammatically; literally 'What you say is what you have done in the way of great deeds'. But what do such words mean in this context? As is clear from the next words of Pwerrō's report, 'Truly it is no light accusation which this prince of Nō made', the sentence contained either directly or by innuendo a serious charge against the workman Userkhpesh.

Is it not possible to take *m bwꜣt* not as an enlargement of *nꜣ iry·k* but as a prepositional phrase joining and in some way contrasting *nꜣ iry·k* and *nꜣ ḏd·k*, 'Your deeds are in disagreement with your words,' i.e. 'Your exploits in tomb-robbing disprove your statement that Pharaoh's wise counsels are sufficient to preserve the tombs from desecration'? This is, however, only a guess, and I can find no support for such a meaning of *m bwꜣt*.

22. 6. 11. This curious form occurs here, in the next line, in 7. 16, and finally in 10068, 10. 6. 21. In the last case it has a prothetic aleph, *i·ss*, and

is consequently, despite its plural strokes, a verb in the Relative Form. In Abbott 6. 11 and 12 the form must be active *sdmf* and in 7. 16 passive *sdmf*. *nw* can only be the preposition *n* with 3rd plural personal suffix, either masculine 'for the persons concerned' or neuter 'for the things concerned.' Cf. 10053, vs. 1. 9 and note.

23. 6.24. Literally 'in the course of to-morrow' (see SPIEGELBERG in *Ä.Z.*, lxii, pp. 42-3), and perhaps literally meant.

24. 7. 3. It is curious to find a simple prophet of Amūn in such exalted company as this, and when we learn from Amherst, 4. 4 that there was a *sem*-priest Nesamūn who was second prophet of Amūn we are tempted to suppose that the word 'second' has here been inadvertently omitted by the scribe. That he is here described as of the temple of Millions of Years of Neferkerēr while in Amherst he is of the temple of Ramesses III hardly tells against the identification, for he may have held posts in both these temples.

25. 7. 10. This phrase also occurs in a damaged context in Pap. Louvre 3169. 1 (collated).

26. 7. 14. See above, p. 35, n. *.

27. 7. 16. See note on 6. 11.

THE AMHERST PAPYRUS

DESCRIPTION AND CONTENTS

The document known familiarly to Egyptologists as the Amherst Papyrus is a hieratic papyrus formerly in the collection of The Right Hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney and bearing the number VI among the Egyptian papyri from that collection published by Newberry in his volume *The Amherst Papyri* (Egyptian), London, 1899. It has since passed into the hands of Mr. Pierpont Morgan.

It consists of a sheet 8 feet long and 8½ inches high (Chabas) bearing the bottom halves only of four pages, of which the fourth formed the end of the document. It is written in a fine large upright hand, probably by the same scribe who wrote Abbott. It was first published by Chabas in his *Mélanges égyptologiques*, troisième série, tome ii, pp. 1-26 and Plates I-IV. Erman made a short reference to it in *Ä.Z.*, 1879, p. 152. Newberry's edition comprised a photographic reproduction, transcription into hieratic, transliteration and translation. It is on his plates that the present text is based. The papyrus is at present in a packing-case in the library of Mr. Pierpont Morgan in New York, and the writer, on inquiring whether fresh photographs of it could be

obtained for purposes of study, was informed that it might be several years before it was unpacked.

The photographs used for Newberry's plates are unfortunately not perfect. Page 1 (his Plate IV) is probably reproduced about natural size,* but the fragments are not all correctly placed. I have attempted a reconstruction in Plate IV, where the position of all the fragments is certain within a few millimetres, except that of Fragment P, which may just possibly be misplaced:† this could doubtless be tested by examining the fibres in the original. The rest of Newberry's plates are on a reduced scale of about $\frac{2}{3}$. In page 2 (his Plate V) there are some small misplacements in the right half: the vertical strip about 2.5 cm. wide on the right should be slightly separated from the rather wider strip on its left, and these two strips thus combined should be swung outward a little further at their lower end, increasing the marked gap which at the bottom separates them from the main sheet. Other small rectifications are mentioned in the notes to the plate (Plate V). These corrections are important, since failure to observe them has led in the past to some bad mistranslations of this page. In Newberry's Plate VII of Page 4 the photograph is unfortunately very much blurred in the top line, and owing to the circumstances related above I have been unable to obtain a better.

The date of the papyrus is fortunately beyond doubt. Though the title and heading are lost, we read in 3. 7-8 that the thieves were taken to identify the scene of their crime in Year 16, third month of the inundation season, day 19, and the confessions and beatings recorded in the earlier portion must have taken place on or just before that day, probably, in the light of Abbott 4. 10, the day before. The reign is clearly that of Ramesses IX Neferkerē, for the contents of the document are intimately connected with those of the Abbott Papyrus.

At the beginning of our fragment some official is calling upon a prisoner whose name does not transpire to confess his crime. This he does. The reference to the high priest Ramessesnakht (the restoration in 1. 4 seems almost certain) may be without historical importance if all that was said was that the thief and one or more of his associates were working together in the tomb of Ramessesnakht, as seems not unlikely. At the end of Page 1 the

* Judging by a comparison with Abbott.

† Restorations are inserted in outline only.

thief is naming his accomplices. What he confessed in the upper part of page 2 we do not know, but in the preserved portion he seems only just to have begun the account of the thefts in the tomb of Sebekemsaf and Nubkhaas. This is perhaps completed in the last line of page 2. The preserved portion of page 3 begins with the names of the last five of a list of eight men 'who were in the pyramid-tomb of this god,' and records their being taken to identify the scene of the crime, and their trial and doom.

The loss of the top half of Page 4 makes it difficult to discern the bearing of what remains. Possibly it is summing up the fate of the thieves, for the first line accounts for three and one, 'total 4,' and we then learn in the lines still left that one man, Setnakht, explicitly stated to have been a thief 'of the pyramid-tomb of this god,' i. e. Sebekemsaf, escaped.

It should be noticed that though the preserved parts of this papyrus contain nothing which can be shown to refer to thefts other than those in the tomb of Sebekemsaf yet it is not impossible that other robberies may have been referred to in the portions now lost.

One other document besides Papyrus Abbott is closely allied to Amherst, namely Pap. B.M. 10054, particularly verso 1 and verso 5-6. The first is dated just five days before the identification by the thieves of the scene of their crime; the second is undated. The following table shows to what extent the thieves in the two papyri are identical:

	<i>Amherst</i>	<i>B.M. 10054</i>	
		<i>verso 1</i>	<i>verso 5-6</i>
1. Hapiwēr . . .	1. 6	1. 6	5. 12
2. Setekhnakht. . .	1. 7	1. 7	5. 20
3. Hapīro . . .	3. 1	1. 7	
4. Irenamūn . . .	3. 2	1. 7	5. 4
5. Amenemhab . . .	3. 3	1. 6	5. 11
6. Kaemwēse . . .	3. 4	1. 7	
7. Ahautinufer . . .	3. 5		

The names in the first column are those of the thieves of Amherst, to whom has to be added the thief who is confessing,

whose name does not transpire. It will be seen that of the seven here named six appear in the list of verso 1 of 10054, while the seventh in this latter list, Amenpnufer, may be the confessing thief of Amherst. The only one of the Amherst group not mentioned in 10054, vs. 1 is Ahautinufer. In addition to this, the long list of 10054, vs. 5-6 contains four names which occur both in Amherst and in 10054, vs. 1, all marked with the sign indicating 'brought up for questioning': the Pnufer of page 5 is, moreover, almost certainly identical with the Amenpnufer of page 1.

Clearly the gang implicated in the affair of Sebekemsaf had other robberies to their discredit, and had taken a leading part in the series of crimes which Pesiūr prince of Nō reported to the vizier on or just previously to the 18th day of the third inundation month of Year 16.

TRANSLATION (Plate V)

Page 1 (Pl. v)

(1) . . . (2) . . . [your] stealing [along with] the thieves [who] were with you (3) . . . [Amenrēr] King of the Gods . . . [employ]ed in working (4) . . . [Ramesses]nakht (?),¹ who was [chief] priest [of] Amen[rēr King] of the Gods, along [with] . . . the fellow quarrymen (5) who were with me, when I was engaged [upon the] theft² [in the] . . . along with the quarryman (6) Hapiwēr son of Merptah of the temple of Usi[ma]rēr Mi[amūn in the House] of Amūn, in charge of the *sem*-priest Nes[amūn?] of this temple. Now in Year 13 (7) [of Phar]aoḥ my [lord], four years ago, I agreed with [the carpent]er Setekhnakht son of Pen[ranket]

Page 2 (Pl. v)

(Some lines lost)

(1) his burial-place(?). [We] found the burial-place of the royal wife Nubkhaas his royal wife in the place . . . its (2) side.³ It was protected and . . . ed with plaster and covered with . . .⁴ We forced it open⁵ also and we found her (3) lying there likewise. We opened their outer coffins and their inner coffins in which they lay. We found this (4) noble mummy of this king equipped like a warrior (?).⁶ A large number of sacred-eye amulets and ornaments of gold was at his neck, (5) and his headpiece⁷ of gold was on him. The noble mummy of this king was all covered with gold, and his inner coffins (6) were bedizened⁸ with gold and silver inside and outside with inlays⁹ of all kinds of precious stones. We appropriated¹⁰ the gold (7) which we found on this noble mummy of this god and on¹¹ his eye amulets and his ornaments which were at his neck and on the inner coffins

in which he lay. (8) [We] found the royal wife just (?) likewise ¹² and we appropriated all that we found on her too. We set fire to their inner (9) coffins. We stole their outfit which we found with them, consisting of objects of gold, silver, and bronze, and divided (10) them up among ourselves. We made this gold which we found on these two gods and on their mummies, their eye amulets and ornaments and their inner coffins into eight [parts].¹³

Page 3 (Pl. v)

(Some lines lost)

- (1) The stone-cutter¹⁴ Hapīro, son of . . .¹⁵ of the temple of Amenrē King of the Gods, in charge of this chief priest of Amūn.
- (2) The carpenter Irenamūn belonging to the overseer of hunters Nesamūn of the temple of Amenrē King of the Gods.
- (3) The field-labourer Amenemhab of the temple of Amenōpe, who is employed in the Island of Amenōpe¹⁶ in charge of this chief priest of Amūn.
- (4) The water-bearer Kaemwēse of the chapel of King Menkheperurē, in charge of (*sic*, ends)
- (5) Ahautinufer son of Nekhemmut, who was in the hands of the Nubian slave Thelamūn belonging to the chief priest of Amūn.
- (6) Total of men who were in the pyramid-tomb of this god, eight. They were examined by beating with the stick, and their feet and hands were twisted.¹⁷ (7) They told the same story. The prefect of Nō and vizier Khaemwēse and the royal butler Nesamūn scribe of Pharaoh caused the thieves to be taken before them (8) to the West of Nō in Year 16, third month of the inundation season day 19. The thieves pointed out this pyramid-tomb of this god in which they had violated chambers.¹⁸ (9) Their trial and their doom were set down in writing and a dispatch was sent to Pharaoh concerning it by the vizier, the butler, the herald and the prince of Nō.

Page 4 (Pl. v)

(Some lines lost)

- (1) . . . chief priest of Amūn this day, three men: thief of the chambers (?)¹⁹ one man, total four men. (2) Thieves of this pyramid-tomb of this god who have fled and whom this chief priest of Amenrē King of the Gods was instructed to cause to be brought back that they might be made prisoners (3) in the keep (?)²⁰ of the temple of Amenrē King of the Gods, along with their accomplices in theft, until Pharaoh our Lord shall ordain²¹ their punishment: (4) the carpenter Setekhnakht son of Pen'anket of the temple of Usimarē Miamūn in the House of Amūn, in charge of the second prophet of Amenrē King of the Gods the *sem*-priest Nesamūn²² of the temple of Usimarē Miamūn in the House of Amūn.

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

1. 1. 4. The restoration Ramessesnakht may be regarded as virtually certain. A trace of the determinative of the man with the stick remains, and the long tail under the line can hardly be anything but the exaggerated *w* seen in the writing of *nht* in 1. 7 and in Abbott 5. 13, probably written by the same scribe. The traces which follow the name and the spacing suit *wn m* 'who was' much better than *nti m* 'who is'.

For this Ramessesnakht, a predecessor in office of Amenhotpe who was chief priest at the time of this inquiry (see Abbott), see LEFEBVRE, *Histoire des grands prêtres*, p. 263. To the references there given add B.M. 10403, 1. 7, Turin, P.R. 105. 13, and an unpublished text on the verso of the Goldmines Papyrus at Turin (continuing P.R. 32 and 33), dated in Year 6, possibly of Ramesses VI and certainly not of an earlier king.

2. 1. 5. Restore certainly *twt* and possibly before it *m t*. The plural noun which follows is a puzzle.

3. 2. 2. The use of the personal suffix shows that the word *drw* is in origin a part of the body. It must be the common word for 'side', and its determinative is not a circle, large or small, but the flesh sign. Cf. Abbott, 2. 13 and Pap. Turin, P.R. 42. 6 and 103, col. ii. 17.

4. 2. 2. For *mik* as a noun meaning the 'closure' of a tomb see BOTTIPEET, *Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe*, Pl. 49, l. 6. *hsh* seems not to be known. Perhaps 'blocks', either rough or squared. The entrance was presumably built up with stone and then given a coating of plaster to make it as nearly as possible indistinguishable from the rest of the wall.

5. 2. 2. *hm* occurs in the same sense in Mayer B, line 9, there followed, however, by *m*.

6. 2. 4. Hardly 'with two swords', as Newberry, which would be quite differently written.

7. 2. 5. The use of *psif* and not the personal suffix shows that *tp* is here not a part of the body. It must form a compound noun with the word which follows. This is probably to be read *wttw*, and must be a writing of the plural of *wt*, a mummy bandage; see Berlin *Wb.*, i, 379. The introduction of the *i* may be an anticipation of the late spelling given by the *Wb.* or it may be a confusion with the plural in *-ttw* of *wt*, an inner coffin. The compound *tp-wttw* will mean 'head of wrappings' i.e. the cartonnage head-piece with which an expensive mummy was almost always equipped in this period.

8. 2. 6. For *ht* cf. Pap. Harris I, *passim*; *Urk.*, iv. 186. 12; Mayer B, 12; B.M. 10068, ro. 3. 21, 6. 3; Dream Stela, l. 19.

9. 2. 6. Cf. Pap. Harris I, *passim*. For the omission of the preposition *m* see *Ä.Z.*, lvi, 63.

10. 2. 6. *nwt*. See note on 10054, ro. 1. 6.

11. 2. 7. *hnc* is here used as often in Late Eg. to avoid the repetition

of another preposition, in this case *m*. The gold which they stole was on the mummy, *on* the amulets and ornaments and *on* the coffins. In other words *hnc* links *sch* and *wdwt*, not *nb* and *wdwt*, and it would be wrong to translate 'We appropriated the gold . . . and (we appropriated) his amulets &c.' Cf. 2. 10.

12. 2. 8. The filling of the lacuna after *mitt* is difficult. Newberry's *iri* is simple, but *iri* in the phrase *r mitt iri* is, so far as I know, always written without determinatives. Moreover the form of the first determinative (Gardiner, A. 48) is unconvincing, for contrast its form in 1. 4 and 4. 3. I cannot, however, in the absence of a better facsimile make any other suggestion unless it be *ch*, 'exactly'. See Corrections to Plates.

13. 2. 10. The feminine noun which followed was obviously *dnit*.

14. 3. 1. *nsdtl*. Cf. 10054, vs. 1. 7, BRUGSCH, *Wb.*, 813 and *Suppl.*, 699, and Golenishcheff Glossary, 3. 2. In 10054, ro. 2. 13 a Hapirō, in all probability identical with the present man, is called simply *hri* 'a quarrier'.

15. 3. 1. The name of the father was never filled in.

16. 3. 3. See Corrections to Plates. Occurs 10054, ro. 1. 6, 10052, 10. 4-5: in both cases it is reached by ferrying, but there is no evidence to show on which side it lay.

17. 3. 6. See above, p. 21.

18. 3. 8. Both the sense and the unusual determinative of *wsh* indicate that the word cannot here have its usual sense of 'to place'. The same phrase occurs Ambras, 2. 5-6, doubtless with the same meaning as here, and perhaps in a very difficult context in Pap. Turin 1880, ro. 3. 18-19 (P.R. 46, collated).

19. 4. 1. Unfortunately quite uncertain in the facsimile.

20. 4. 3. Cf. 10052, 2. 27 and 10053, ro. 4. 13. BURCHARDT, *Die altkan. Fremdworte*, Nos. 831, 864 compares the Semitic *שַׁעַר*, a gate. Amherst alone gives the stem *šcr*, the other two passages showing the metathesis *šrc*.

21. 4. 3. See note on 10052, 15. 8.

22. 4. 4. The absence of the definite article before *hm-ntr* shows that this title belongs to the proper name Nesamūn, *sem*-priest being a further title of the same man. We cannot therefore read 'in charge of the second prophet of Amūn' and put a full stop there, taking 'the *sem*-priest Nesamūn' as a second absconding thief. Only one thief Setekhnakht is in fact here mentioned, and the plurals in the preceding lines 2 and 3 are merely formal. For this Nesamūn see perhaps Abbott, 7. 3 and note thereto.

GROUP II

THIS group consists of a single papyrus, that bearing the number 10054 in the British Museum collection. This papyrus, along with 10052 and 10053, formed part of a group of nine papyri bought by the Museum in 1872 from Miss Selina Harris, daughter of a Mr. Harris who had spent some years in Egypt. They are very inadequately described in the Museum register, but it is clear that No. 1 is that generally known as the Great Harris Papyrus, recording the benefactions of Ramesses III to the temples, while Nos. 2 and 6 are respectively B.M. 10060, known as Harris 500 and containing the Stories of the Capture of Joppa and the Foredoomed Prince and the Love Songs, and B.M. 10042, which contains the Magical Text known as Harris 501. Now since 10052 appears in the Museum records as Harris 499, 10053 as Harris A and 10054 as Harris simply, it is clear that these three belong to the group, and the only three with which they can conceivably be equated are Nos. 3, 4 and 5. These are described as follows:

No. 3. Hieratic papyrus of Ramesses IX in 7 pages.

No. 4. Hieratic papyrus of Ramesses VII or IX, 6 ft. 6 in. long.

No. 5. Hieratic papyrus of Ramesses III in 6 pages.

I hesitate to make any equations between any of these and 10052, 10053, and 10054. None of these is of Ramesses III or VII, none is 6 ft. 6 in. in length (10053 is 6 ft. 11 in.) and none contains either 6 or 7 pages. Clearly the descriptions entered in the register in 1872 are inaccurate as well as insufficient.*

PAP. B.M. 10054

DESCRIPTION AND CONTENTS

This papyrus bears several unconnected texts and presents some puzzling features (Pl. XXXIX). As now mounted it consists of a piece 116 cm. broad and 41 in height† with a loose strip 10 cm. broad at the right-hand end (assuming that the recto lies uppermost) which does not actually join on to the main portion, but which, from its having originally been mounted with it, may reasonably

* I have to thank Mr. S. R. K. Glanville of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the Museum for looking up these details for me.

† The top edge (recto side) is torn. The loss is hardly likely to be more than 1 or 2 cm.

be presumed to belong to it. This strip bears on its recto (H/V) the docket 'Examination of the thieves' written in a large neat hand across from top to bottom.

Now when a papyrus written on one side is rolled up it is rolled with the writing inwards, and the filing docket is naturally written across the outside in such a way that it is visible. Consequently the original document on this papyrus, to which the filing docket should refer, ought to be found on the opposite side to the docket. But the docket is on the recto (H/V), and the original text should therefore be on the verso. Now at the right-hand end of the verso there is in fact a page relating to the tomb-robberies, and it is clearly the first page of the document, because it begins in the most formal manner possible with the date and description of its contents (verso 1. 1-3). There seems no escape from this conclusion, although it breaks the rule that a scribe never used the verso (V/H) side of a papyrus until the recto (H/V) had been used. Our scribes* were perhaps conscious of their irregularity, for after writing this one page they seem to have turned back, perhaps at once, perhaps after an interval,† to the recto and continued the text there in pages 1, 2 and the first six lines of 3.

The contents of this text may be briefly summarized as follows:

Verso, page 1. Date, Year 16, and title. Examination of the quarryman Amenpnüfer, who admits to having, with other men, robbed tombs on the West of Thebes.

Recto 1, lines 1-7. One or even two lines lost at the top. A thief whose name is lost confesses to stealing, along with three others, 16 *kite* of gold from tombs, one of which is that of a third prophet of Amün, Thanüfer. This tomb is No. 158 of the Gardiner-Weigall list and lies in the Dirâ' Abu el-Nagâ.

Recto 1, 8-12. The same thief confesses to a theft from a tomb in the Quarter of Nefertiri (?).

Recto 2, 1-6. One or even two lines lost at the top. Confession of a fisherman (name lost) to having ferried over six thieves and received from one Panekhtresi 3 *kite* of gold for his services. This is clearly the same incident as that related by Pakhihat in ro. 3. 1-6 below, where we learn the names of the six thieves and of the fisherman who ferried them over, viz. Panekhtemöpe. Oddly

* Plural since vs. 1 is not by the same hand as ro.

† The latter supposition is the more probable, for there are two separate examinations of Amenpnüfer to be accounted for. See later.

enough a similar, perhaps even an identical, affair is shortly referred to in 10052, 14. 11 ff. (see note on text), where the same fisherman admits having ferried over three of these same men, namely Uaresi, Panekhtresi and Itfnūfer, and another man called Pawensh. The incident is foreign to the main contents of Pap. 10052 and is not referred to again. Its occurrence there is, however, of importance from the point of view of dating the papyrus.

Recto 2, 7-12. One Amenpnūfer confesses a visit with others to the tombs of the West of Thebes and the bringing away of gold and silver.

Recto 2, 13-16. The same man confesses a theft of gold from the inner coffin of Amenkhau, a keeper of the treasure and fan-bearer of the temple of Amūn. This tomb appears to be unknown.

Recto 3, 1-6. Probably no loss at the top. Pakhiat confesses thefts of gold and silver from the tombs of the West of Thebes together with five other men. This is the incident already related in 2. 1-6 by the fisherman Panekhtemōpe, whom indeed Pakhiat here inculpatates.

With line 6 of page 3 ends the tomb-robbery text. Closely connected with it, however, are pages 5 and 6 of the verso which, unlike the rest of the texts on this face, are written the same way up as the recto. They contain a list of thieves, some of whom are already known to us from this papyrus, while others are not. The top line of page 5, which was perhaps in the nature of a heading, is unfortunately lost. Against each line is a black dot, indicating that the names have been ticked off, perhaps in a comparison with some other list, and eight names are marked with the indication ⲙ, which is doubtless used in its technical sense and denotes that these men have been 'brought' up for examination.

The text which next demands our attention is that contained in recto 3. 7-17. After the end of the tomb-robbery text in 3. 6 is a blank line. Line 3. 7 begins with a date, Year 18, second month of inundation, day 24. There follows the deposition of a priest Penwenhab, who admits having gone with other priests to a place not specified and having stolen gold foil from a statue of Nefertum belonging to Ramesses II. He is further accused of having gone to the *gwt* (?) of 'this god', i.e. either Ramesses II or Nefertum, probably the latter, and having stolen four objects (*hns*) of silver, which had to be replaced by substitutes made of wood or other material. A goldsmith is called to give evidence as to the facts,

and this man further gives a list of persons who had taken part in the crime and received plunder. In line 17 two coppersmiths are denounced for despoiling of its bronze a statue of 'The Lord.'

This section is clearly wholly unconnected with what precedes it. Its date is two years higher than that of verso page 1, and, though it is not possible to fix the scene of the crimes, there is no reason for supposing that it was a tomb. In fact the indications are rather to the contrary. It is hard to see why a fresh page was not begun.

This completes the contents of the recto. Returning now to the verso, and disregarding the tomb-robbery text on verso 1, we come to the text which lies to the left of it. This consists of two columns of names surmounted by two long head-lines. From these we gather that it is a list of 'men of the land' to whom spelt to be made into bread was given by Nesmut steward of the House of the Chantress of Amūn and Kāshuti scribe of the army. It is dated Year 6, third month of inundation, day 10.

The persons who receive the spelt are described as 'every man of every house within the fortifications of the Temple of Usimarēr Miamūn' (Ramesses III), and the distribution is made through* the prince Pewerō, the scribe of the quarter Wenennefer and the district officers Aninakht and Amenkhau. The names are in two columns, that on the right having lost a name or two at the bottom, and that on the left being complete.† The amount of spelt issued to each person stands in red to the left of his or her name. One or two of the amounts are uncertain, and there are at least three missing at the bottom of the first column. The total of spelt recorded is 18½ *khar*.‡

This is not the end of the list, however, for it is continued by a series of names and amounts inserted on the right of the tomb-robbery text of verso page 1. This page must be numbered verso 3. The first five entries of this yield a total of 2½ *khar*. In line 6 we find a total of 22 *khar*, plus, perhaps, a fraction which is lost. Since the 2½ just mentioned added to the total 18½ of page 2 amounts to 21½ (missing and uncertain amounts on page 2 would explain the slight discrepancy, supposing that the scribe for once added correctly), it is clear that we are right in reading page 3 as

* See, however, note on *m dt*, vs. 2. 2.

† In Pl. VII, ll. 21-4 are incorrectly shown at the top of the left-hand column instead of at the bottom of the right.

‡ At the bottom of the left column is inserted after a blank space a wholly irrelevant note of the delivery of a boat, lines 37-8.

the continuation of page 2. We may also argue that the scribe would hardly have jumped back to the front of page 1 had the space on the left of page 2 been unoccupied. In other words, the tomb-robbery lists on pages 5 and 6 verso are in all probability earlier than the bread texts. No further total occurs on this page 3.

The page numbered 4 lies beneath page 1. It is not a continuation of the list of pages 2 and 3, though it seems to have some connexion with it. It is headed 'Specification of the 500 loaves given to the men of the land by the prince [Pewerco] and the scribe of the quarter Wenennefer and the district officer Aninakht,' three of the officials who appeared in the other list. There follows a list of persons, some of whom occurred in the other list, each name being followed by an amount of grain, usually $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*, and the number of *kyllestis*-loaves made therefrom, reckoned, not always accurately, at 60 to the *khar*. The list contained thirteen names, of which four are lost. The amounts are all preserved (in l. 8 read 50, not 30), and total, correctly, 500.

What is the nature of these two lists and what is the relation of the one to the other? From the heading of the first list it is clear that the grain was issued to the persons named in order to be baked into bread. Whether it was a dole in time of need or a gift for a festival we cannot say, but it would seem that it was given to these people not for their own use but merely in order to be baked. This seems probable not only from the explicit statement that it was 'to be made into bread' but also from the varying amounts given to persons obviously of equal rank. Presumably each person received the amount which he or she was capable of baking, and the loaves when made were collected for distribution.

Such a distribution is perhaps recorded in the second list, which recounts the giving not of grain but of loaves, though their equivalent in grain is recorded. These need not be actually the same loaves as any of those referred to in the first list, in fact it is probable that they are not, for their total in grain value is less than 9 *khar*. The occasion of this largess is quite problematical.

We may now discuss more fully the relation of the tomb-robbery text, namely verso 1, 5 and 6, and recto 1, 2 and 3. 1-6, to those of the other papyri. Verso 1 is dated Year 16, third month of inundation day 14, and headed 'The trial of the thieves who were found to have robbed the tombs of the West of Nō, and who were tried by the vizier Khaemwēse, the royal butler Nesamūn

scribe of Pharaoh, and the royal butler Neferrēremperamūn herald of Pharaoh, and the prince of Thebes Pesiūr.' The witness is the quarryman Amenpnūfer (vs. 1. 4) and he admits to having plundered the inner coffins of tombs on the West of Thebes, though he does not give the names of the owners of the tombs, perhaps for the simple reason that he did not know them. He had six associates, the quarryman Hapiwēr, the peasant Amenemhab, the carpenter Setekhnakht, the carpenter Irenamūn, the stone-cutter Hapirō and the water-bearer Kaemwēse. He states that the theft took place in Year 13, four years ago (or three as we should now say). It will escape no one that the six accomplices are all among the eight thieves of the Amherst papyrus (see above, p. 47), and it is of course possible that Amenpnūfer is the unnamed man who is there making his confession. At any rate we are in the presence of the same gang of thieves whose main exploit was the plundering of the royal tomb of Sebekemsaf and his wife Nubkhaas, and the thefts which Amenpnūfer here confesses were clearly made from private tombs in the same year as the major theft (Amherst, 1. 7).

But there is more of interest in the confession. It is dated day 14 of the third month of inundation in Year 16. Now the inspection of Pap. Abbott took place on day 18 of this same month. In this period of Egyptian history, when the king's regnal years dated not from New Year's Day to New Year's Day, but from accession day to accession day, we can never say, unless we know the date of accession, that any particular date in a given regnal year preceded any other. Thus in this case the day 18 of the third month of inundation in Year 16 would, if the accession date happened to be the 15th, 16th, 17th, or 18th of this month, have preceded day 14. At the same time it would then be a very remarkable coincidence that these two confessions, clearly so intimately connected, should be made a whole year all but four days apart, and we may with considerable confidence place the 14th before the 18th. The court which heard the evidence on the 14th included Pesiūr, prince of Thebes, and we thus see him here taking the first steps in the process designed to discomfit his enemy Pewaterō prince of the West, who was responsible for the Necropolis, and who ought himself to have discovered the thefts (see above, pp. 32 ff.). To judge by the wording of Abbott, 3. 2 the thefts from the tomb of King Sebekemsaf were, however, not

discovered, or at least not officially recognized, until the inspection on the 18th.

The confessions on the recto are less interesting. As there is a further statement by Amenpnūfer it is probable that they are not actually to be attributed to the same day as that of verso 1. They deal with various thefts, apparently from private tombs, and except for the reference to the fisherman Panekhtemōpe, which occurs again in 10052 as noted above, there is little useful information to be drawn from them.

The list of pages 5 and 6 of the verso still remains to be considered. Of the twenty names which survive seven constitute the group of thieves implicated by the evidence of Pakhihat in recto 3. 1-6. Five others come from the group named by Amenpnūfer in verso 1. 1-9 (the Amherst group), while the remaining eight are unknown to us from any of the tomb-robbery texts. There can be little doubt that it is a list of thieves either arrested or marked down for arrest. It is significant that it contains none of the names of the priestly thieves of recto 3. 7-17.

We are now in a position to attempt to date the papyrus. The earliest text is the tomb-robbery text, whose first page, verso 1, is dated in Year 16, though the king is not named. Since the thief who here confesses names as his confederates in Year 13 practically the same group of men who, according to Pap. Amherst, confessed in Year 16 of Neferkerēr Ramesses IX to violating the tomb of King Sebekemsaf, also in Year 13, we shall be safe in dating our papyrus to that reign. Pages 1, 2 and 3. 1-6 of the recto are, as we have seen, to be dated to the same time as verso 1, or possibly a little later. The intrusive 3. 7-17 is dated in Year 18, and as it follows on the last text with only the interval of a blank line it is difficult to believe that it can belong to a later reign, which would involve its being at least 18 years later, possibly considerably more.* We may thus tentatively assign page 3. 7-17 to the reign of Neferkerēr.

Of the tomb-robbery texts there now only remains the list of names on verso 5 and 6. It has unfortunately lost its heading and it is consequently impossible to say more than that it is later than the original text of the papyrus, verso 1. The word 'brought' marked against the name of Setekhnakht, one of the Amherst thieves who was in flight at the time Amherst was drawn up, must

* See *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, xiv, pp. 61-73.

be later than Amherst, but it does not necessarily follow that the list itself is also later.

The distribution of spelt text, verso 2, 3 and 4, dated Year 6, is clearly later not only than verso 1 but than the list of verso 5 and 6 (see above). It follows on the left of page 1, and had not the space on its own left been already occupied by the list it would not have turned back to fill in the awkward gnomon round page 1. To what reign does the Year 6 of this text relate? It cannot be that of Ramesses IX, for it is later than the tomb-robbery text of his 16th year (verso 1). It is thus to be dated to a reign later than that of Ramesses IX Neferkerēr, and we must place it either in the reign of one of his successors or in the period known as 'The Repeating of Births'.*

Now six officials are mentioned in this text, namely Nesmut steward of the House of the Singer of Amūn, Kāshuti scribe of the army, the prince Pewerō, Wenennefer scribe of the quarter, and the district-officers Aninakht and Amenkhau. All but one of these men are known to us from other texts of about the same period. Thus in the town-register of 10068 vs. (Year 12, reign not stated) the houses of the last five are given side by side (3.5-9) in the same order as here, and if, as is probable, the register is in topographical order, their houses must have been contiguous. Doubtless this was advisable, since they all played an important part in the administration of the West Bank. Kāshuti occurs in other texts. In Mayer A, 6. 10 he is engaged with others in clearing up the remains of the destruction wrought at or about the time of the 'war of the high priest Amenhotpe.' Again in B.M. 10383 Kāshuti is brought and questioned as to the damage done to a silver object in the temple of Ramesses III. To this temple he was specially attached, for he bears the curious title of 'scribe of the army of the temple of Ramesses III'. This incident takes place in Year 2 of a period which can, on the internal evidence of the papyrus, be identified with the 'Repeating of Births'. Finally he is mentioned in Pap. Turin P.R. 61. 8, in a papyrus which on internal evidence can be dated with considerable probability to Years 17-18 of Menmarēr Ramesses XI.†

* See above, p. 3, n. 1.

† *J.E.A.*, xiv, p. 66. If the tomb-robbery texts of 10054 be, as suggested elsewhere, the document mentioned in Ambras 2. 5-6, then the bread text may well have been written on it after the rediscovery (see p. 4), for Ambras does not mention this text. In this case Year 6 of the text cannot be earlier than the 'Repeating of Births'.

It is not very probable, though not of course impossible, that Pwerrō, already in office in Year 16 of Neferkerēr, continued to be so throughout the reigns of Ramesses X and Ramesses XI up to Year 6 of Herihor, for Ramesses XI reigned at least 27 years, Ramesses X at least three years. Consequently we can hardly take the bread text further than the Year 6 of Ramesses XI Menmarēr or of that part of his reign which was known as 'The Repeating of Births', if indeed this was a part of his reign and did not precede it (p. 3, n. 1).

TRANSLATION (Plates VI-VIII)

A. ROBBERY TEXTS

Order: docket, vs. p. 1, ro. pp. 1-3, vs. pp. 5-6

Filing docket (across right-hand end of recto) (Pl. VII)

The examination of the thieves.

Verso p. 1 (Pl. VII)

(1) Year 16, third month of the inundation season, day 14. The examination of the thieves who were found to have robbed (2) the tombs [of the] West of Nō, and who were examined by the prefect of Nō and vizier Khaemwēse, and the royal butler (3) Nesamūn scribe of Pharaoh, and the royal butler Neferrēremperamūn herald of Pharaoh, and the prince Pesiūr [of] Nō.

(4) There was brought the quarrymen Amenpnūfer the son of Anhernakht, his mother being Mery of Ethiopia. He was examined by beating with the stick, (5) his feet and hands were twisted. He said, I went beyond (??)¹ the Fortress of the West of Nō according to my (6) custom . . . in Year 13 of Pharaoh, four years ago. I was with the quarryman Hapiwēr, the field labourer Amenemhab (?), the (7) carpenter Setekhnakht, the carpenter Irenamūn of the overseer of hunters of Amūn, the stone-cutter² Hapiro and the water-bearer Kaemwēse of (8) the chapel of King . . . rēr:³ total seven men. We broke open⁴ the tombs of the West of Nō and brought away their inner coffins which were in them. (9) <We> stripped off their gold and their silver which was on them [and we] stole it, and I divided it between myself and my confederates.

Recto p. 1 (Pl. VI)

(One or even two lines lost above)

(1) . . . mummy. We found . . . (2) . . . [cover]ed with inscribed gold [at] his neck. (3) We . . . went to the tomb of Thanūfer, (4) who was third prophet of Amūn.⁵ We opened it, and we brought out his inner coffins,

* The intrinsic text ro. 3. 7-17 (temple-robberies?) is included here to avoid unreasonable dislocation.

and we took his mummy, (5) and left it there in a corner in his tomb. We took his inner coffins to this boat, along with (6) the rest, to the Island (?) of Amenōpe.⁶ We set fire to them in the night. And we made away with⁷ the gold which we found (7) on them, and 4 *kite* of gold fell to the lot⁸ of each man: the five (*sic*) men, each one 4, total 1 *deben* and 6 *kite* of gold. We went once again (8) to the quarter of Nefer... [life, prosperity] and health⁹ and entered a tomb. We opened it and brought out an inner coffin (9) from it, and up to its neck was covered with gold. We stripped¹⁰ it <with> a chisel (?)¹¹ of copper. We took it (10) [and we] set fire to it there in the tomb. And we found a laver of bronze and two *nw*-vases of bronze. We [brought] them over to this side of the river (11) [and I] divided [them] with my companions. Now when we [were] arrested the scribe of the quarter Khaemōpe (12) came to me . . . and I gave him the 4 *kite* of gold which had fallen to my lot.

(Half a page blank below)

Recto p. 2 (Pl. VI)

(One or even two lines lost above)

(1) copper (?) . . . (2) Come, go with me [and] ferry us over to the [other] side. I . . . (3) ferried over with them by night and I landed them on the bank of the West of Nō. They said to me, . . . (4) until¹² we come to you. Now in the evening of the next day they came to me and called to me by night and I went (5) to them on this (?) bank.¹³ I took the six of them and I brought them to this side of the river and landed them at the bank of the Harbour of Nō.¹⁴ (6) Now after some days Pnekhtresi came to me bringing me 3 *kite* of gold.

(7) Amenpnūfer was brought, son of Anhernakht, his mother being Mery of Ethiopia: he is a quarryman of the temple of Amūn in charge of the chief priest of Amūn. He was examined. (8) He said, I went to the tombs of the West of Nō with the thieves who were with me at the tombs of the West of Nō. We brought away the (9) silver and the gold which we had found there in the tombs and the offering vessel which we had found in them, carrying¹⁵ (10) my chisels of copper in our hands and opening¹⁵ the outer coffins with the chisels of copper which were in our hands. And we (11) brought away the inner coffins on which there was gold, and we broke them up and set fire to them by night inside the tombs. (12) And we made away with the gold and silver which we found on them and took it and divided it up among ourselves. (13) Now I went again to the tombs with the quarryman Hapiwēr son of Meriptah and the quarryman Hapiro: with myself, total 3. (14) We went to the tomb of Amenkhau, a keeper of the treasury and fan-bearer of the temple of Amūn.¹⁶ We went down into its burial-chamber (?).¹⁷ (15) We found an outer coffin of stone of Khenu¹⁸

<in> its burial-chamber(?). We opened it and smashed up its (16) mummy, and we left it there in the tomb. But we took his inner coffin and his shell and stripped off his gold.

Recto p. 3 (Pls. VI-VII)

(Blank above: probably nothing lost)

(1) There was brought Pekhiat son of [Kē]dakhtef,¹⁹ his mother being Buip of the West of Nō, a coppersmith of the Necropolis. He was examin[ed]. He [said] (2) I went to the tombs of the West of Nō with the coppersmith Pauaresi and the coppersmith Pentehetnakht and the carpenter Setekhnakht . . . (3) and Pnekhtresi a man on the staff²⁰ of the temple of King ṛOkheperre²¹ in charge of the chief priest of Amūn, and the copper-smith Itnūfer of the temple of Month, Lord of Zerti. (4) We entered the tombs of the West of Nō, and we made away with the silver and the gold which we found in the tombs. We took it (5) and we sold it in the boat (?) of Zar at the Harbour of Nō:²² we went all six of us together. It was the fisherman Pnekhtemōpe of the prince of Nō (6) who ferried²³ us over to the West of Nō, and his share was exactly the same as ours.

(One line blank here, followed by an intrusive text, 3. 7-17)

(7) Year 18, second month of the inundation season, day 24. Taking the deposition of the *wēb*-priest Penwenhab. His statement was heard. They said to him, What have you to say concerning this gold foil of Nefertum²⁴ (8) belonging to King Usimarē-Setpenrē, the great god. He said, I went with the divine father Hapiwēr, and the divine father Sedi, and the divine father Peisen son of Hapiwēr, and the divine father Pekharu. (9) We stripped this gold-covered column-drum (?)²⁵ of Nefertum. We brought away 4 *deben* 6 *kite* of gold, and I melted it down, and the divine father Hapiwēr divided it up (10) between himself and his companions. They gave me 3 *kite* of gold and they gave 3 *kite* to the divine father Pekharu son (?) of . . . and they took the remainder. (11) Now the goldsmith said, The god of Pharaoh remains stripped to this day, it is not covered.²⁶ And . . . also said . . . You²⁷ went to the shrines (?)²⁸ (12) of this god and brought away 4 ox-amulets (?)²⁹ of silver and broke them up. And I made copies in wood . . .³⁰ and put them in their place. (13) The 4 ox-amulets (?) weighed 6 *deben* of silver. They divided them among themselves. (14) Men along with the divine father Pekharu and the *wēb*-priest Penwenhab to whom the gold of Nefertum was given: to the (15) *sem*-priest Khaemōpe 1 *deben* of gold, to the scribe of the royal records Setekhmōse 6 *kite* of gold, to the divine father Hapiwēr 3, to the divine father Sedi 3 *kite*, to the divine father Pekharu 3, (16) to the *wēb*-priest Penwenhab 3 *kite*, to the *wēb*-priest Pesen son of Hapiwēr 3 *kite*, to the *wēb*-priest Setekhmōse 1 *kite* of gold: amount³¹ (still) covering the god 8 *kite*; total 4 *deben* of gold. (17) Said the divine father Pekharu, The

coppersmith Khonsmōse and the coppersmith Usimarēnakht brought away 150 *deben* of copper <from ?> the great statue of the Lord which stands <in> the court. It is in their possession.

Verso p. 5 (Pl. VIII)

(One or two lines lost at the top)

- (1) . . . Amūn.
- (2) The attendant Nesamūn . . . [Pe]hemneter (?) who was overseer of the warehouse of the temple of Amūn.
- (3) The *Bd̄t*³² Nesamūn of Thebt.
- (4) Brought. The carpenter Irenamūn belonging to the overseer of the hunters of Amūn.
- (5) Brought. The boatman Ahay son of Thari of Thebes.
- (6) The fisherman Pnekhtemōpe son of Herurkhou, whose mother is Hel.
- (7) The coppersmith Pen[tahet]nakht son of Ḳedakhtef (?).³³
- (8) The coppersmith Pekhihat son of Ḳedakhtef (?).
- (9) The coppersmith Pauaresi son of Ḳedakhtef (?).
- (10) The quarryman Pnūfer of the chief priest of Amūn.
- (11) Brought. The landworker Amenemhab of the temple of Khons of Amenōpe.
- (12) Brought. The quarryman Hapiwēr . . . in charge of the chief priest of Amūn.
- (13) Brought. The quarryman Penneh....
- (14) Brought. The coppersmith Itnūfer of the temple of Month Lord of Zerti.
- (15) Brought. Pnekhtresi son of Pewensh, whose mother is Nesmut, of Zerti (?).
- (16) Nesamūn son (?) of Tather of the temple of Usimarēr Miamūn.
- (17) The priest Pnekhtresi son of Iyemnefert: he is in the Northern District.
- (18) Nesamūn son of Kari of the chapel of Usimarēr, in the charge of the scribe Nefer.... (?).
- (19) The attendant Irenmonth son of Peteh, whose mother is Hapinūfer.
- (20) Brought. The carpenter Setekhnakht son of Anḳet whose mother is Ēse, of the West of Nō.

Verso p. 6 (Pl. VIII)

- (1) . . .
- (2) The coppersmith Peiwen.... . . . Thari.
- (3) The coppersmith Thari son of Khaemōpe.

B. DISTRIBUTION OF GRAIN TEXT

*Order: vs. pp. 2-4**Verso p. 2 (Pl. VII)*

(1) Year 6, third month of the inundation season, day 10. List of the men of the land³⁴ to whom spelt was given³⁵ for making into bread, by the steward of the Singer of Amūn Nesmut and the scribe of the army Kāshuti, (2) namely every man belonging to every house which is <in> the fortification of the temple of Usimarē^c Miamūn, by the hand³⁶ of the prince Pewatero and the scribe of the quarter Wenennefer and the [district] officer Aninakht and the district officer Amenkhau, (3) from the temple of Seti as far as the temple of Usimarē^c. . . .³⁷

- (4) Chief of the stable Ashathebsed of the . . . of Nō, 1 *khar*.
- (5) The carpenter Pentehetnakht of the temple of Hui, 1 *khar*.
- (6) The carpenter Ahauti of the temple of Hui, 1 *khar*.
- (7) The herds[man] Wenamun of the house of the Divine Votaress of Amūn, 1 *khar*.
- (8) The engraver Itfnūfer son of Khaemto of the Necropolis, 1 *khar*.
- (9) The potter³⁸ Ahay of the Necropolis, 1 *khar*.
- (10) The landworker Ahautimonth, 1 *khar*.
- (11) The overseer of the quarter Seramūn of the Necropolis, 1 *khar*.
- (12) The citizeness Tenhesi of (?) Ubkhet-zefert (?),³⁹ $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*.
- (13) The citizeness Tekharu daughter of Beksutekh, $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*.
- (14) The citizeness Te^cher (?) daughter of Seḥ (?), $\frac{1}{4}$ *khar*.
- (15) The citizeness . . . daughter of Harer of Hapiro, $\frac{1}{4}$ *khar*.
- (16) The citizeness Iner, daughter of the wife of the slave Ptahkau, $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*.
- (17) The citizeness Tahal daughter of Tharo, $\frac{1}{4}$ *khar*.
- (18) The Mazoi Nesamūn son (?) of the chieftain of the Mazoi, $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*.
- (19) The citizeness . . . daughter of Heber (?), $\frac{1}{4}$ *khar*.
- (20) The citizeness Renpetnefert daughter of Tir <of> Hapiro, $\frac{1}{4}$ *khar*.
- (21) The citizeness Iner daughter of Pesai, $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*.
- (22) The citizeness Tefenz daughter of Kheta, . . . *khar*.
- (23) The citizeness Harer daughter of . . .
- (24) The citizeness . . .

One or two names may be lost here

- (25) The citizeness Taukhed, the wife of the washerman Kharer, $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*.
- (26) The citizeness Tasent who lives in the house of the fisherman Ken, $\frac{1}{4}$ *khar*.
- (27) The citizeness Ineri who was (living) as wife with the engraver Khonsmōse, $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*.
- (28) The citizeness Minu daughter of Tehir of Hapiro, $\frac{1}{4}$ *khar*.
- (29) The citizeness Tathef <daughter of> Teneshi, $\frac{1}{4}$ *khar*.
- (30) The citizeness Tais the wife of the wēb-priest Amenua son of Pennō, $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*.

- (31) The citizeness Kaka (?) daughter of Naisenpesaf, $\frac{1}{4}$ *khar*.
 (32) The citizeness Taanket, $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*.
 (33) The citizeness Tekhi daughter of Mutemōpe, $\frac{1}{4}$ *khar*.
 (34) The citizeness Harer daughter of Inōzem, $\frac{1}{4}$ (?) *khar*.
 (35) The temple of Usimarēr Setpenrēr by the hand of the scribe of the temple Sedi, $2\frac{5}{8}$ *khar*.
 (36) The temple of Menmarēr Seti, 1 *khar*.
 (After two blank lines there follows an intrusive note:)
 (37) Year 10, third month of the inundation season, day 28, handing over of the *ḥt*-boat to (38) the washerman Amenmōse son of Bek....

Verso p. 3 (Pl. VIII)

- (1) ... Usi[ma]rēr ... , $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*.
 (2) ... $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*.
 (3) ... Tekharu (?) daughter of ... , $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*.
 (4) ... Nesmut ... , $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*.
 (5) ... Taaper (?) ... , $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*.
 (6) ... Total 22 *khar*.
 (7) ... the temple of King Usimarēr ...
 (8) ... Taukhed ... , $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*.
 (9) ... her daughter ... , $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*.
 (10) ... Mutemōpe ... , $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*.
 (11) ... her daughter ... , $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*.
 (12) ... Teiher..., $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*.
 (13) ... daughter of ... , $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*.
 (14) ... $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*.
 (15) ... $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*.
 (16) ... $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*.
 (17) ... prince (?) ... , $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*.
 (18) The citizeness ... daughter of Aḥa..., $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*.

(The page is blank below)

Verso p. 4 (Pl. VIII)

- (1) The speci[fication ⁴⁰ of] the 500 loaves which were given to [the men of] the land ... prince Pe[werrō] and the scribe of the quarter Wenennefer and the [district] officer Ani[nakht].
 (2) Chief of Mazoi Nesamūn, $\frac{7}{8}$ *khar*, making 50 *kyllestis* loaves.
 (3) Chief of Mazoi I..., $\frac{7}{8}$ *khar*, 50.
 (4) The overseer of the quarter Seramūn, $\frac{3}{4}$ *khar*, 45.
 (5) The Mazoi Pe..., $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*, 30.
 (6) The Mazoi Kenkhepeshef, $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*, 30.
 (7) Chief of the stable Ashathebsed, $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*, 30.
 (8) The *wēb*-priest Seni [of the tem]ple of Hui (?),⁴¹ $\frac{7}{8}$ *khar*, 50.

- (9) The engraver Sedi of the Necropolis, $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*, 30.
 (10) The potter Aḥay of the Necropolis, $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*, 30.
 (11) Aḥa..., $\frac{9}{16}$ *khar*, 35.
 (12) . . . $\frac{5}{8}$ (?) *khar*, 45 (*sic*).
 (13) . . . $\frac{5}{8}$ *khar*, 45 (*sic*).
 (14) . . . $\frac{5}{8}$ *khar*, 30.

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

1. vs. 1. 5. *ith* is certain, and the only trouble about the reading of the preceding word is that the form of ⲉⲓⲧ is not only strange, but quite unlike that used in the preceding line. For ⲉⲓ we might read ⲉ . If the reading is correct we must have here some formation from *wi* 'to be distant'. But what we need is a preposition. Can the word mean 'beyond'?

2. vs. 1. 7. See Berlin *Wb.* ii, p. 342, BRUGSCH, *Wb.* 813 and *Suppl.* 699. In Amherst, 3. 1, this man bears the same title, but in 10054, ro. 2. 13 a *Hṛpī-ri* who is, from the context, almost certainly the same person is called *hrti* a 'cemetery man' or 'quarryman'. The meaning 'jeweller' tentatively given by the Berlin *Wb.* may therefore be wrong.

3. vs. 1. 8. Amherst, 3. 4, has clearly *mn-hprw-r* for the king's name. It is difficult from the traces to believe that this stood here. If *hpr* is there, which is doubtful, then *mn* was omitted.

4. vs. 1. 8. Traces faint and straggling. The tempting *rk r* 'we entered the tombs' is not possible. *hf*, a common Late Eg. writing of *fh* 'to destroy', seems probable. If correct it must have a milder meaning here, 'made havoc of' or similar.

5. ro. 1. 3. This tomb is known, and is No. 158 in GARDINER-WEIGALL, *A Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes*. Dr. Spiegelberg tells me that an Osiris-figure bearing the name of this priest exists in the collection at Munich.

6. ro. 1. 6. Cf. Amherst, 3. 3 (see corrections to Plates) and 10052, 10. 4-5. These texts give no clue to its exact whereabouts.

7. ro. 1. 6. These texts provide good examples of *nwi* in the derived sense of 'to make away with'. Cf. ro. 2. 12 and 3. 4 below, Amherst, 2. 6 and 2. 8 (det ⲛⲱ), and 10053, vs. 2. 4, 2. 8, 2. 14. Berlin *Wb.*, ii. 220.

8. ro. 1. 7. For *hri* 'fall to the lot of' with *m* instead of the usual *r* cf. Pap. Mayer B, ll. 13 and 14.

9. ro. 1. 8. Doubtless a cursive writing of Nefertiri, wife of Ahmose I, who enjoyed great popularity in the Necropolis.

10. ro. 1. 9. *kk* is a new word, frequent in these texts, which is evidently the origin of the Coptic ⲕⲱⲕ to 'pare' or 'peel'.

11. ro. 1. 9. The group drawn in the plate (Pl. VI, n. 4) must be either ⲙⲓⲛ or ⲙⲓⲛ : in 2. 4 below ⲙⲓⲛ is so written. Since in these texts the indefinite

article *w* is not followed by *n*, the *n* must be part of the word. Thus we get *ntg* or *nrg* for the name of the tool. No such stem is known.

12. ro. 2. 4. *i-ir-tw-n*. See note on 10052, 15. 8 (note 101).

13. ro. 2. 5. 'This bank', i.e. the west bank, to which he had ferried them. Presumably they had made him spend the day on that side in order to be ready to ferry them back during the next night.

14. ro. 2. 5. Beyond the fact that it lay on the east bank the text gives no guide as to its position. Cf. below 3. 5.

15. ro. 2. 9-10. There are some grammatical points in this sentence. The relative periphrasis with *wn* which we get here in *i-wn-n gmt-f* occurs only once again in these texts, 10052, 15. 6, where imperfect meaning in past time seems to be required, 'which the thieves used to bring to Ramose'. Here, however, we require either past definite or pluperfect meaning 'which we found' or 'which we had found'. Since the past definite is normally expressed by the relative of the verb itself without the periphrasis with *wn* it would seem reasonable to translate by a pluperfect, indicating that the thieves were revisiting a tomb to bring off the plunder they had left there.

The forms *iw t-i-n* (line 9 end) and *iw i-ir-n wn* should be subordinate, *iw sdmf* being almost invariably so in Late Eg., and I have translated them so, despite the rather clumsy result which ensues in English. But why is *wn* periphrased with *i-ir-n* and *t-i* not?

n-i-i h-iw (line 10). 'My chisels', for Amenpnüfer was a quarryman and had provided the tools. *h-i* is the commonest tool used by the Necropolis workers, and in the Necropolis Diary we constantly read of the *h-iw* being collected either for inspection or sharpening. See, e.g., BOTTI-PEET, *Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe*, Tav. 58, ll. 10-12.

16. ro. 2. 14. This tomb has not been found.

17. ro. 2. 14. The reading is certain, but the word unknown. It looks like a 'syllabic' writing of *htt* or *hitt*.

18. ro. 2. 15. *Hnw* is the modern Silsileh.

19. ro. 3. 1. The name of the father also occurs in vs. 5. 7, 8 and 9. The reading *kd-ht-f* seems probable, though the writing is very cursive. *Kd-ht-f* is, however, generally spelt with *ḥ*, but I have a distinct recollection of having seen the present spelling in a fragment at Turin of which I seem to have no copy.

20. ro. 3. 3. Reading probable. The determinative *ḥ* is common with *smḏt* at this period. For *rmt smḏt* of a temple cf. Abbott, 4. 13.

21. ro. 3. 3. For this or a very similar affair see 10052, 14. 11 ff. where, however, the name of this king seems to be defectively written.

22. ro. 3. 5. The reading *ḥr* seems almost certain; the boat determinative is made as elsewhere in the papyrus, and the alternatives *ḥ* and *ḥ* for *ḥ* are not palaeographically convincing. Yet the word *ḥr* is unfortunately masculine and would need *p* not *t*.

dit r bnr must be the Coptic ⲧⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'to sell'.

23. ro. 3. 6. Not simply 'P. ferried us' but 'It was P. who ferried us'. *i-ir* is a participle, and we must have here a Late Eg. equivalent of the M.E. emphatic construction discovered by Gunn, *in X. sdm* 'It was X. who heard', corresponding to *ink sdm* 'It was I who heard' when the subject is pronominal. In Late Eg. this construction persists, e.g. Wenamon 1. x+5, where both nominal and pronominal subjects are illustrated. In the papyri of this group there are numerous examples with pronominal subject, the participle being either a true participle or a periphrasis with the participle of *wnn* or *irt*, preceded or not by the definite article: see 10052, 3.7, Mayer A, 4.10, 8. 25. Examples with noun subject are 10052, 13. 7-8, 10053, vs. 4. 21 and the present instance; in the last two the M.E. *in* has been replaced by *iw*. In 10383, 1. 6 we have *m* for *in*.

24. ro. 3. 7. The group which I have read as *Nfr-tm* occurs four times in these papyri, here, below in lines 9 and 14 of the same page, and 10053 vs. 4. 11. The reading $\overline{\text{𐤢𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓}}$, to which I was at first inclined, is palaeographically quite indefensible, the forms of the signs being unsuitable, in addition to the omission which would have to be postulated of the determinative 𐤢 of *niswt*, which is never absent at this period in such royal titles as *mwt niswt* and *hmt niswt*. *Nfr-tm* seems quite free from objection, for the occurrence of a stroke too many in the spelling of line 7 need cause no concern in so cursively written a document: note, too, that there are only two strokes in line 9, one for 𐤢 and one for 𐤏 , and only one in line 14, standing for 𐤢 .

For other reasons, too, the reading *mwt niswt* is impossible. It is clear from the goldsmith's evidence in lines 11 and 16 that what had been stripped of its gold foil was a statue of a god; the royal mother of Ramesses II (lines 7-8) was Thy, the royal wife of Seti, and would have been described as such and not as merely mother of Ramesses II. What is more, in 10053, vs. 4. 11 'the shrine of the royal mother' without further qualification would be impossibly vague, whereas 'the shrine of Nefertum' suits admirably.

kk in line 7 is almost certain, for it suits the traces admirably. *nb kk* must be an expression for 'gold foil', *kk* being either a genitive of definition 'gold of peeling', or, more likely, the noun expressing the object preceded by the noun of material 'gold, namely foil': cf. *inr hd krs* 'a sarcophagus of white stone'. *kk* is clearly the noun formed from the verb *kk* 'to peel' (see note on 1. 9 above). We have no doubt the same word in 10403, 2. 3 determined with the metal sign 'the peeling (i.e. casing) of this chest'. For a word similarly spelt but probably with different meaning see BRUGSCH, *Wb.*, 1441, 1476 and *Suppl.*, 1266, Pap. Anast. iv, 14. 4, Pap. Sallier i, 8. 4. The *kk* of Pap. Hearst Med., 1. 17 may be a false writing of *ks* or *kw*.

25. ro. 3. 9. *š:k* is a not uncommon word for a metal ring. See Kahun Pap., xix. 35, xx. 35 and page 49, Pap. Mayer A, 2. 7 and 6. 24, SETHE, *Urk.*

iv, 692. 11 (determined, however, by 7), Berlin Ostr. 10631. 6, Pap. B.M. 10403, 1. 24, 25, Piankhi Inscr., 112. In Pap. Harris, 13 a. 8 it seems to be a drum of a column *š:k n wh: n 'Imn*. In the present passage it may have a somewhat similar meaning. It is, however, as the context shows, part of a statue of Nefertum. Did the figure of the god stand on a cylindrical pedestal?

26. ro. 3. 11. *dg:f* must be passive *sdmf*. I can quote no other example with the negative *bw* from these papyri. The 'god of Pharaoh' is presumably Nefertum.

27. ro. 3. 11. The statement of the witness Penwenhab ends in line 10. In line 11 begins that of 'the goldsmith', clearly an official goldsmith called to give evidence as to the present state of certain gold-covered objects. In the lacuna after *hr dd* in line 11 we should probably supply *p: nbi tw:tn* 'And the goldsmith further said, you went . . .'. That these words and those which follow are those of the goldsmith seems clear from the statement in line 12 to the effect that 'I made imitations of them in wood and put them in their stead.' It is hardly likely that the thieves would have gone to this trouble. Moreover in line 13 there is a transition to the third person, 'they divided them', &c., which is not unnatural in the mouth of the goldsmith, but which makes it quite impossible to attribute any part of these few lines to Penwenhab. The difficulty which remains is the occurrence of two apparent first person plurals *inn:n* and *iry:n* in line 12. There is, however, in these papyri much graphic confusion between the first and second person plural endings: *inn:n* with its three *n*'s is a suspicious form, and the most probable solution lies in taking these two verbs as second persons.

28. ro. 3. 11. *gt* seems the only possible reading, but the ligature for *gt* would be very unusual, and we also expect \square . If *gt* is right it will be the well-known word, more often written *g:it*, for a 'shrine' or similar. See 10053, ro. 5. 6 and 5. 14, BRUGSCH, *Wb.* 1520 and *Suppl.* 1289.

29. ro. 3. 12. *hns* can hardly be the word found Pyr. Texts, 416, where we read 'Wenis has opened the two doors' (*hnswi* determined by a double-headed ox and the two halves of a double door). Whatever it was that the thieves stole they stole the complete objects and not merely metal coverings, for they had to be replaced in wood. The four objects in all only weighed 6 *deben* (about 18 oz.) of silver; perhaps they were double-ox amulets, for which see Berlin *Wb.*, iii. 300, fifth word on page.

30. ro. 3. 12. The restoration *tw:i irt-w m ht* seems highly probable. *hmt* 'copper' does not suit the traces. It is impossible to guess what followed *ht*.

31. ro. 3. 16. The reading *f:it* is uncertain, though the form is by no means impossible and the cursive writing not surprising in a word which must in account papyri have been very common. For the meaning 'quantity' or similar see Berlin *Wb.*, i. 574 under *f:it* (*f:it*), 11.

32. vs. 5. 3. *Bdt* is an ethnical title, to judge by its spelling and its determinative. I can find no other examples of it.

33. vs. 5. 7. See note 19 above.

34. vs. 2. 1. *rmṯ n pṣ tṣ*. This phrase occurs four times in our papyri, here, in Ambras, 1. 2, Abbott, 4. 1 and 10068, ro. 6. 13. The Berlin *Wb.*, ii, p. 423, gives it as parallel to *rmṯ n kmṯ* with the simple meaning of 'Egyptians'. Can our three passages be used to check this? In the present passage the persons concerned live on the West of Thebes, but this is probably an accident, and we cannot be certain that the same holds of the other passages quoted. A distinction between Egyptians and foreigners, however, seems to be ruled out by the occurrence in our list of a Mazoi and of several persons whose names are suspiciously foreign, to judge by their syllabic spelling. Women as well as men are included, and as these mostly bear the title *ṛnh n Nwt* we cannot suppose a contrast between 'people of the land' and 'dwellers in *Nwt*' i.e. 'The Town'. In any case *tṣ* does not mean 'the land' in this sense. Note, too, that the standing and professions of the persons named are very various. It does indeed look as if the words were simply a general term for 'people' or 'populace'. In Abbott, 4. 1, however, it seems to comprise only men, the women being described as *ṛnh n Nwt*.


It is tempting to see in this phrase the origin of the demotic *rmt nb n pṣ tṣ*, for which see GRIFFITH, *Rylands Papyri*, iii, p. 401, and SPIEGELBERG, *Der ägyptische Mythos vom Sonnenauge*, p. 288, no. 893. Against this, however, it is to be observed that in demotic the phrase is always used in a negative context and corresponds to our 'no one whatsoever', or, as we actually say, 'no one on earth'. The parallel *mdt nbt n pṣ tṣ*, 'nothing whatsoever', also tells against such an explanation, for we can quote no example from Late Eg. of the postulated *mdt n pṣ tṣ*.

35. vs. 2. 1. *i-[d]y nw*. A true passive participial construction.

36. vs. 2. 2. It is not quite certain whether we are to translate *m dt* 'by the hand of', referring to the giving of the spelt, or 'in the charge of' referring to the *rmt n pṣ tṣ*. 'In the charge of' in the sense required is, however, generally *r ht*, less frequently *m r* or *m dt*, and the balance of probability is therefore in favour of 'by the hand of'. The spelt was provided by Nesmut and Khashuti, while the actual distribution was made by Pewerro, Wenennefer and Amenkhau. *m dt* is constantly used in the account papyri before the name of the person from whose hand a supply is actually received (*šsp*).

37. vs. 2. 3. This wall or fortification, distinct from the temenos wall of the temple, must have been of considerable extent, running as it did northwards as far as the temple of Seti at Kurnah, and including to the south the temple of Ramesses III at Medīnat Habu (restore obviously Miamūn, not Setpenrēr, at the end of line 3). It must have included practically the whole of the West of Thebes. Cf. 10068, vs. 2. 2-3, and pp. 83-4.

38. vs. 2. 9. *ḳd*. Since in the Necropolis Journal of Year 17 (BOTTIPEET, *Il Giornale*, 17 B ro., 2. 2) the *ḳd* Ahauty, probably the same man as here, provides pots of various kinds, he is obviously a potter and not a builder. This is quite consonant with the original meaning of the verb *ḳd*, but how are we to tell, apart from context, when the title means builder and when potter?

39. vs. 2. 12. The first element of the name, *wbḥt*, is clear. The second is less so. We might read it .

40. vs. 4. 1. *wpt*, as the Berlin *Wb.*, i, p. 303, recognizes, has in account papyri the definite meaning of 'specification' or 'detailed account'. In cases where the general material of which details are to be given is first specified it is often replaced by *wḫ-ṣt* (op. cit., p. 302).

41. vs. 4. 8. Hui, as Sethe has shown in *Ä.Z.*, xlv, pp. 89-90, is a nickname for Amenhotpe. This temple must therefore be that of one of the kings Amenhotpe of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Amenhotpe I, from the important part which he played in the Necropolis, is the most likely to have been referred to by his nickname.

GROUP III

THIS group consists of the texts on the recto of two papyri, namely B.M. 10053* and B.M. 10068.† Both these texts concern plunder obtained by a gang of eight thieves from a tomb or tombs, probably the tomb of Isis, the royal wife of Ramesses III. 10053 ro. consists of the statements of the eight thieves as to the disposal of their respective shares of copper, each thief giving a list of the persons to whom he had sold and the amount sold to each. The list is stated to have been made in the temple of Maat in Thebes, where the prisoners were confined, by the vizier and chief priest, with a view to the recovery of the metal by prince Pewerro of the West and various other officials of the Necropolis, under whose jurisdiction the matter came, not only because the robbery had concerned a tomb, but also because the accused were all members of the Necropolis staff. 10068 ro. is a somewhat more complicated text, which will be more fully described below, but which clearly belongs to the same dossier, dealing, however, with gold and silver and other valuables rather than bronze and copper. Both documents are dated in Year 17 and in the winter season. The reign, as will be shortly seen, is that of Neferkerēr Ramesses IX.

These two texts taken alone form but a dull catalogue of persons and stolen property. Fortunately there exists evidence which transforms them into units in an interesting and fairly complete story. There is no need to describe in detail the Diary or Log of the Theban Necropolis dating from the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, for considerable portions have recently been published in BOTTI-PEET, *Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe*.‡ The portions preserved include part of the entries made in Year 17 of Neferkerēr, the year in which took place the robberies dealt with in 10053 ro. and 10068 ro.

THE NECROPOLIS DIARY AT TURIN

Turning first to the recto of the Diary, the entries on which run from day 13 (?) of the first month of winter to day 23 of the

* For the verso see Group IV.

† The texts of the verso are dealt with in this group for convenience of reference.

‡ The page and line numbering adopted in what follows is that of this publication.

third month, we find in pages A ro. 1-4 the remains of a list or lists of names with entries of amounts of grain or other substance, usually $1\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*, against most of the names. The lists are clearly those of the workmen of the Necropolis, right and left wings, with their foremen, sculptors, and porters, the grand total being 68. Certain names in them are marked with the word 'prisoner'. These names are as follows:

Paanḱen son of Amenua.
 Amenua son of Hori.
 Nekhtmin son of Pentewere.
 Pentewere son of Amennakht.
 Hori son of Amenua.
 Seramūn son of Amenua.
 Amenhotpe son of Pentewere.

Now of these seven names six are known to us among the thieves of B.M. 10053 recto, and we shall find these same six again in the list of thieves in ro. A 5 of the present Turin document. The other name, that of Seramūn son of Amenua, does not occur elsewhere in connexion with the robberies. It is hardly necessary to suppose that this man is identical with the Nekhemmut son of Amenua of ro. A 5 below, or with the Peison son of Amenua of B.M. 10053 ro. (5. 4). The family of Amenua was clearly heavily involved in the crime, and it is possible that even innocent members of it were at one time or another under suspicion and arrest. The name of the eighth thief, Mōse, may have been in the lost portions of the lists.

The date of these lists has not survived, but they form part of the entry for a day which can be little—perhaps only one day—earlier than the first surviving date in this part of the document, namely, day 14 of the first month of winter (ro. A 6. 3).

Ro. A 5 is rendered difficult by its lacunae. It would seem, however, that some one in authority, perhaps the vizier, causes the Necropolis staff to be assembled and reads a list of thieves from a roll. The list is as follows:

Amenua son of Hori.
 Pentewere son of Amennakht.
 Nekhtmin son of Pentewere.
 The deputy Paanḱen son of Amenua.
 The deputy Amenhotpe son of Pentewere.

Hori son of Amenua.

Nekhemmut son of Amenua.

Mōse son of Pentewere.

These are precisely the thieves of B.M. 10053, with the exception that Nekhemmut son of Amenua is substituted for Peison son of Amenua. That the deputy Paanḫen son of Amenua is identical with Paḫen son of Amenua in B.M. 10053 is made clear by certain accounts on vs. B p. 9, where we find a deputy whose name is written indifferently Paḫen or Paanḫen.

Ro. A 6 contains tantalizing lacunae, but the references to the guarding of eight prisoners (l. 8, and probably l. 1 also), to the bringing of the silver and gold, and to the temple of Maat, make it highly probable that we are dealing with the same events, possibly with that portion of them referred to in B.M. 10068, ro. 1. 8-9 (date lost): 'They were seized, together with the gold, silver and copper . . . to Nō to the temple of Maat in Nō.' The dates of these events in the Diary are days 14 and 15 of the first month of winter.

After day 17 of this first month of winter comes a long lacuna in the papyrus, and the Diary is only resumed on day 6 (?) of the second month. On day 10 of this month we read that 'The prisoners were in Nō, in the inner magazine of Maat.' It is hardly to be doubted that these are the prisoners arrested on or just before the 13th day of the previous month. The entry for day 17 of the second month is more precise, for it reads 'The eight [workmen of] the Necropolis were prisoners in the temple of Maat in Nō.'

Day 21 has an entry which concerns us nearly. It reads 'The sergeants of the Necropolis stood before the vizier Khaemwēse and the high-priest of Amūn in the Court of Amenrē, King of the Gods. They* said to us,† Behold the prisoners are in your hands, let them be guarded all the eight. [And they] caused to be loaded up the silver and gold and clothes and oil and everything which had been found in their possession. And they brought their inspectors and said, Put them in a storehouse in the temple of the Osiris King Usimarē-Miamūn, the Great God, and put a seal on them. And they did so. And they placed the eight prisoners in charge of the prince of the West [of Nō] and the scribe of the quarter and the two district officers of the West of Nō the same day.'

* i. e. the vizier and high-priest.

† i. e. the Necropolis officials who keep the Diary.

The translation of this passage is clear, though it is not easy to see why the prisoners, who have apparently been handed over to the vizier and high-priest, should now be given back to the officials of the West of Thebes and the Necropolis to guard. Pap. 10068 ro. contains an official record of the receipt into the storehouse of the temple of Ramesses III of all the valuables transferred thither from the temple of Maat (see especially ro. 5. 18-19) on day 21 of the second month of winter.

On day 24, after a note of some deliveries of fish, we find (B ro. 1. 30) the laconic statement 'Examination of the eight men and their wives'.

B ro. 2 carries us on to day 14 of the third winter month. This page is complete, and is followed at once by page 3, where we find ourselves confronted by depositions of thieves. These continue over the much-damaged pages B ro. 4-6 and end in two lines at the top of page 7. There follow the events of day 15 of the third winter month, and it is therefore evident that the depositions were made, or at least entered up, under day 14. These depositions, or *šsp r*, are mainly, like those of B.M. 10053, lists of persons to whom the stolen copper had been given or sold; in one or two cases, however, a description of the vases or other objects stolen precedes the list of names. The thieves are in the following order:

Pentewere son of Amenua.
 Amenhotpe son of Pentewere.
 Mōse son of Pen (*sic*).
 Pekharu, son of Pentewere.
 Peson son of Amenua.
 Hori son of Amenua.
 Paḳen son of Amenua.

These are precisely the thieves of B.M. 10053 recto, with the omission of Amenua and Nakhtmin and the addition of Pekharu. The omission of Amenua is not disconcerting, for, as we shall see later, there is a list of his on the verso of the papyrus, where we shall also find that Pekharu is probably another name for Nakhtmin. These lists contain very few names of receivers who are not already known to us from 10053 ro., in fact they appear to be extracts taken *en bloc* from that document, the names occurring nearly always in the same order, and, with a few exceptions, followed by the same amounts of copper. They differ from the

lists of 10053 partly in specifying some of the stolen objects of copper and bronze and partly in having totals made out for each thief. Thus Hori's list, B ro. 5. 12-18, gives five names which occur in the same order and with the same amounts in 10053, and one fresh name. The total is correctly made out as 82 *deben* and there follow the words 'His remainder, 38 *deben*. Received in Year 17, day 25 of the second month of winter, 39 *deben*. Total 121.' Clearly some more of Hori's plunder had been recovered since the handing over of the prisoners and loot to the Necropolis officials on day 21 of the second month, but the total of 121 *deben* does not agree with that of 10053, which was 96 *deben*, even if we may add to this the 35 *deben* marked against the fresh name, that of Peneban. Two other lists, those of Paḳen and Pentewere, are followed by an entry stating that certain amounts had been received on certain previous dates, but in one case the day and in the other the month is lost.

The most probable view of the purpose of these Turin lists seems to be that whereas the lists of 10053 were the official lists made by the vizier and the high-priest for the guidance of the cemetery officials in recovering the booty (10053, ro. 1. 4-7), these which we find in the Necropolis Diary were entered by the Necropolis officials themselves to record the progress of the task entrusted to them. It is possible that the receivers whose names appear in 10053 and do not appear in the Diary had already surrendered their copper. Any attempt, however, to explain in detail the smaller discrepancies between the two sets of lists would, in our almost complete ignorance of the exact circumstances in which they were drawn up, be mere waste of time.

At the top of page B ro. 7 is given a total of copper recovered 'on the West of Nō, namely that which had been recovered by the chief attendant Horkhau'. The amount is 116 *deben*, but the fragmentary state of the preceding lists makes it impossible to see how this total is obtained. Is it the total recovered since the transfer from the temple of Maat to that of Medīnat Habu?

These lists were, as we have seen, entered on day 14 of the third winter month. The Diary proceeds on page B ro. 7 with entries of more ordinary type. On day 21, however, there is an entry of great importance, for on that day the vizier took the Necropolis workers and their overseers to examine the tomb of the royal mother and royal wife Isis in the Valley of the Queens.

'They opened her tomb. They found the stone of red granite broken by the eight thieves in the entrance, they having wrought destruction on everything which was inside and broken up . . .' (the rest is lost). Now it is almost beyond doubt that by 'the eight thieves' are meant those who have been the subject of so many entries in the Diary during the last three months, and not the eight of the Amherst robberies or any other group of eight. If this is so it would seem that this is the tomb, or at any rate one of the tombs, from which the robberies recorded in this group of papyri took place. Unfortunately 10053 never mentions the tomb, but from 10068, ro. 1.5 it is clear that it was that of a royal lady. At the same time it is a little difficult to understand why a tomb from which plunder, some of it surely marked with the owner's name, was officially known to be in trade as early as day 8 of the first month of winter should not be inspected until day 21 of the third month. Possibly this was not the first inspection. The tomb can hardly be that of the royal mother Isis, given to her by favour of Ramesses VI,* in the Valley of the Queens, for this lady never bears the title of royal wife. It is much more likely to be that of the wife of Ramesses III. This tomb must have obtained some notoriety in the years preceding this trial, for we learn from Pap. Abbott, 4. 16-17 that a certain coppersmith had confessed in Year 14 to thefts from it, but when taken to the tombs by the commission of Abbott he failed to identify it.† The tomb is not known to us.

At this point the orderly day by day narrative of the Diary fails us, for its verso bears a series of heterogeneous texts whose dates and relations to one another are almost impossible to fix. The only entries on this side which concern us here are certain lists of stolen goods and receivers, of similar type to those on the recto. They are all on the verso of Piece A of the papyrus, which has lost half its height: consequently hardly any of them are complete. On page vs. A 2 we have a deposition of Pekharu which may be complete, for it has a total in l. 14. The list consists purely of names of receivers with the quantities received, and a comparison of these with the list of Nekhtmin in 10053, ro. 3. 4-15 makes it quite clear either that Pekharu and Nekhtmin are one and the same (both are sons of Pentewere), or that one of the two had

* SCHIAPARELLI, *Relazione sui lavori della Missione Archeologica Italiana*, i. 156-7.

† See further above, p. 34.

been wrongly accused in place of the other. The rest of page 2 is lost. Page vs. A 3 begins with the two names from the end of Mōse's list in 10053, ro. 5. 1-2: doubtless the lost half of page 2 contained the rest of his list. In vs. A 3. 3-8 we have a deposition of Hori giving five names from his first list in 10053 in the same order (10053, ro. 6. 6-10). In vs. A 3. 9 begins the list of Paken, mostly lost in the missing lower half of the page.

Vs. A 4 begins with the list of Amenua, of which, however, only one name survives, the first few lines being taken up with a list of the bronze and copper objects stolen; the lower half of the page is lost. This list is dated Year 17, day 20 of the second month of winter, a date earlier, be it noted, than that of the confessions on the recto. This is not easy to account for: possibly this is a later copy, not made on the actual day of confession.

Pages vs. A 5-7 are written the opposite way up. Page 5 is the merest fragment, 6 contains a list of Mazoi, and 7, or rather the lower half of it, which alone remains, is identical with the second confession of Hori found in 10053, ro. 7. 14 to end, the names even being in the same order.

What is the relation of these lists to those on the verso? It is impossible to say, for their mutilated state and the uncertainty regarding the time relation of recto and verso make conjecture foolish. The verso lists as they now stand do not duplicate those of the recto in any point, but whether they were so entirely independent when complete we cannot guess. Like those of the recto, they seem to contain passages taken *en bloc* from the lists of 10053, the agreement in order of names and quantities of metal being almost perfect.

The extract from the Necropolis Diary numbered C in BOTTI-PEET, *op. cit.* 41-2, is in some ways the most interesting relic of this group of robberies which has come down to us, for it gives an account, unfortunately mutilated, of the robbery of a tomb. It is the deposition of Nekhtmin, and involves two others of the gang, Amenua and Pentewere. Apparently some of the thieves arranged to mark the position of the tomb with stones so that the rest might be able to find it when necessary. The objects found in the tomb are all of copper and bronze, from which one might argue either that this was hardly the tomb of the queen Isis, or that the more valuable objects of gold and silver mentioned in 10068 had already been carried off.

Having learnt something of the setting into which B.M. 10068 and 10053 ro. fall, we may now proceed to consider these two documents in detail.

PAPYRUS B.M. 10068

DESCRIPTION AND CONTENTS

This was a long sheet of papyrus 156 by 44 cm., now cut in two and mounted between sheets of plate glass.* It is in admirable condition, but lacks a narrow strip from one end, bearing the beginnings of the lines of page 1 of the recto. It contains three distinct texts in three separate hands. The first comprises the six pages of the recto (H/V), the second page 1 of the verso and the third the remaining seven pages of the verso.

The text on the recto deals with tomb-robberies. It treats of the recovery of certain objects of gold, silver, copper and other material stolen by eight thieves also known to us from 10053 ro. and the Turin Necropolis Diary for Year 17 of Neferkerēr. The tomb is described as 'this Place of Beauty on the West of Thebes, this tomb in which rested ' (a name with feminine determinative followed). It may perhaps be that of Queen Isis, wife of Ramesses III (see above, p. 77). The papyrus is dated in the reign of Neferkerēr Ramesses IX, but the year is unfortunately lost as well as the month. A trace of the tail of a \subset in red shows that the day was 10 or over. We can, however, determine the date within a very short interval, for page 4 is dated 'Year 17, second month of winter, day 21', and 10053 ro. is dated day 8 in the first month of the same season. The date on page 1 will not be far distant from these.

This document clearly forms a complement to 10053 ro. Whereas the latter gives the depositions of the eight thieves as to their disposal of the copper, the present papyrus records certain details concerning the stolen gold, silver and other materials.

It consists of five lists:

List I, 1. 11 to 3. 28. Plunder found still in the possession of the thieves. The thieves are taken one by one, and under each name is entered the amount of good gold, white gold, silver and

* Bought from Vasalli in 1856, and mentioned by Hawkins in 1859 in *Select Papyri*, Part II, p. 7.

other materials found in his possession. In each case a total of the precious metals good gold, white gold and silver is made.

In 3.16 to 28 a grand total of plunder found in possession of the thieves is made up. In the case of good gold, white gold and silver the total is followed by a slightly larger amount designated as 'found' (3. 17-19). Possibly the higher totals represent a more accurate measurement made on the receipt of the metals into the store.

The following table will make clear the figures and additions in this list. (Figures in square brackets are restorations, but are nevertheless certain):

Thief.	Good gold.		White gold.		Silver.		Total.	
	<i>deben.</i>	<i>kite.</i>	<i>deben.</i>	<i>kite.</i>	<i>deben.</i>	<i>kite.</i>	<i>deben.</i>	<i>kite.</i>
Nekhtmin	}	2	6*	}	13	0*	34	5
Amenua								
Pentewere		0	5		2	0	14	5
Amenhotpe		1	1		7	5	34	5
Mōse		0	0		1	9	20	3
Peison		2	2		4	5	12	2
Anken		1	1		6	7	29	5
Hori		1	7		3	5	16	0
Total		9	2		39	1	188	5
							236	8

The garments correctly total 63, and the few other objects are simply carried forward, no addition being necessary.

The plunder mentioned in this list is said to have been taken with the thieves to the temple of Maat in Thebes (ro. 1. 8-9), and from ro. 3. 16 we learn that it was placed under the seal of the vizier and the chief priest of Amūn.

List 2, 4. 1 to 4. 21, records the receipt from the temple of Maat of portions of the stolen property which the thieves had parted with to 'the traders of every house,' *šwtlw n pr nb*, recovered by

* Owing to the damaged condition of page 1 we cannot ascertain the quantity of each kind of gold, good and white, to be attributed to each of these two thieves. It is of course clear, from a comparison of cols. 4 and 5, that Nekhtmin's total gold (of both kinds) was 8 *deben*, and Amenua's was 7 *deben* 6 *kite*.

† The figure 34 is lost, but can be restored by subtracting the sum of the other figures from the total.

‡ Entered here incorrectly as 21 *deben* 8 *kite*, but taken correctly as 21 *deben* 2 *kite* in making up the total.

the vizier Khaemwēse and the high priest of Amūn Amenhotpe. Then follows a list of 14 *šwtiū* each followed by the amount of gold or silver which was recovered from him. In 4. 19-20 correct totals of 5 *deben* and $\frac{1}{2}$ *kite* of gold and 32 *deben* of silver are given, and three bundles (?) of garments, not mentioned in the list, are added on.

This list is dated Year 17, second month of winter, day 21. By whom are these quantities received? This is clear from 5. 18-19, where they form part of a larger total including the quantities of List 1 and List 3 'delivered into the storehouse in the temple of Usimarēr Miamūn.'

List 3, 4. 22 to 5. 11. This is headed 'Gold and silver which the thieves had given to the men of Nō and the West of Nō, recovered by the vizier and the chief priest of Amūn'. Then follows a list of fifteen private persons with various titles (*rmt* simply, as opposed to traders, *šwtiū*) followed each by a quantity of gold or silver. The totals (5. 9-11) are 8 *kite* of gold and 4 *deben* 7 *kite* of silver, besides 80 *deben* of *keti*-wood.

In 5. 12-17 the totals of lists 2 and 3 are combined and the result is described as having been 'recovered this day.'

In 5. 18 to 6. 12 these combined totals, described as 'what was brought afterwards', are added to the totals of List 1, called 'of the first lot'.

List 4, 6. 13-19. A list of five persons (*rmt n p; t; t;*) who received gold or silver from the thieves and restored it, presumably unasked.

List 5, 6. 20-25. Bronze vessels stolen by the thieves and recorded by the chief priest and the vizier with a view to their recovery by the prince of the West Pwerrō and the scribe of the quarter Wenennefer. This list is exactly on a par with 10053 ro., containing as it does an instruction to the prince and the scribe to recover plunder whose details had been already ascertained and recorded by the vizier and high-priest.

We are now in a position to estimate the true nature of this document. From the Turin Necropolis Diary (see above, p. 74) we know that on day 21 of the second winter month the vizier and the high-priest handed over to the Necropolis officials the eight thieves and 'the silver and gold and clothes and oil and everything which had been found in their possession'. The recto of 10068 records the receipt of this plunder. But in what form? Lists 2 and 3 and their total are dated on this 21st day (4. 1, 5. 12). They record the receipt from the temple of Maat in Thebes (list 2

explicitly, list 3 implicitly) of gold, silver and clothing recovered by the vizier and the high-priest. To these totals are now added those of List 1, and the whole is stated to have been received into the storehouse of the temple of Usimarēr Miamūn, though the contents of Lists 2 and 3 are called 'what was brought afterwards' in contrast to those of List 1, called 'of the first lot'. This need not mean that there were two separate deliveries of goods to the temple of Usimarēr, for 'what was brought afterwards' may well mean brought to the temple of Maat in Thebes: certainly the words of the Turin Diary give no hint of more than a single handing over of thieves and the whole of their plunder.

We can now see the nature of List 1. It is a copy, probably exact, of the document drawn up in the temple of Maat in Thebes when the thieves and the plunder actually found in their possession were first brought in. That its date was earlier than the 21st day is clear from the occurrence of this date at the beginning of List 2, for had List 1 borne the date day 21 it would not have been repeated for List 2. The actual date of List 1 cannot be fixed; it was probably that of the arrest of the thieves and the bringing of the first of the plunder to the temple of Maat, on or previous to day 8 of the first month, the date of 10053 ro.

The heading of List 4 is so curt that we do not gather whether the goods mentioned were restored direct to the temple of Usimarēr or whether, like the rest, they first passed through the temple of Maat in Thebes. List 5 is in the nature of a written instruction from the vizier and high-priest to the prince of the West and the scribe of the quarter to recover certain stolen vessels of bronze.

If we now turn the papyrus over from top to bottom and examine the verso, we find on the right, with its writing the opposite way up to that of the recto, a broad page (verso 1) dated 'Year — second month of winter day 16'. The scribe, as if bent on puzzling us, has omitted the number of the year. The title runs 'On this day reception of the gold, the silver, the copper and the garments of the *šrmt* by the scribe Dhutmōse, the scribe Khonsmōse and the attendant Shedemua'. There follows a list of personal names, with each of which is given an amount of gold, silver or copper, and a number of garments of one kind or another.

The precise nature of this document must remain in doubt so long as we are unable to fix the meaning of *šrmt* (see note on this

word in the text). The superficial resemblance of the text, with its list of names and quantities of gold, silver, &c., to the tomb-robbery text on the recto must not deceive us into supposing that the two have anything in common, for they have not. Whatever *šrmt* may be, it is certainly not a restoration of stolen property. What is more, the persons in this list do not occur in the lists of the recto, nor indeed are they known to us from any of the tomb-robbery texts. Practically all of them, however, occur in the list of house-owners which occupies the rest of the verso. The fact that the list is dated in the same month as page 4 of the recto and just five days earlier in the month is a mere accident, and had the scribe filled in the number of the year, as he ought to have done, we may rest assured that it would not have been the 17th year of Neferkerē. This point, however, can only be discussed in connexion with the other text on the verso, which must now be described.

This text consists of seven narrow columns, verso 2-8, written the opposite way up to the *šrmt* text, and contains a long list of houses. It is dated 'Year 12, third month of summer, day 13,' and entitled 'Town-register of the West of Nō from the temple of Menmarē to the Settlement of Maiunehes.* Each line of the list begins with the words 'house of' followed by the title and name of the owner. There are only three exceptions to this, and they are the temples of Seti I, Ramesses II, and Ramesses III. The first of these appears in the form (2. 4) 'House of the temple of Menmarē in the charge of the prophet Hapiwēr'. The second (2. 15) is said to be 'in charge of the *sem*-priest Khaemōpe', while the third (3. 4) is not represented by a priest of any kind. It may be that the 'house of the temple' here stands for the dwelling and other buildings which formed part of the temple complex: on the other hand it is equally possible that the words 'house of' at the beginning of every line are purely formal and automatic, and that what was really entered in the list was the temple itself.

The list contains 182 houses taken in order from north to south. The result is highly instructive for the geography of the West of Thebes at this period. Between the temple of Seti and that of Ramesses II there are only ten houses, and between the temple of Ramesses II and that of Ramesses III there are only fourteen. Between the temple of Ramesses and the Settlement of

* For the reading *nhs* cf. Turin Journal, Year 17, B vs. 8. 4. It is possible that the area here described lay within a fortified wall. See 10054 vs. 2. 3 and note 37.

Maiunehes, however, there are no fewer than 155. Where did these numerous houses lie? Mr. Winlock, who has explored all this ground very thoroughly, tells me that there are no signs of ancient houses on the southern continuation of the line joining the temples of Ramesses II and III, and he suggests that the list, after reaching Medînat Habu, turns sharply west and runs up to Dêr el-Medînah, where the French excavations have revealed numbers of houses of this very period. There is little doubt that this is the right solution, and we may see in this document evidence that in the Twentieth Dynasty the population was mainly concentrated in or near Dêr el-Medînah, the ancient name of which will in this case have been the Settlement of Maiunehes. Whether any conclusions as to the population of the West of Thebes can be drawn with safety from the number of the houses is doubtful. We have no idea how many persons to allow per house, nor how many persons were accommodated in the buildings which formed part of the temple precincts. If, however, there were only 182 houses on this side of the river, the population must have been comparatively modest.

An interesting group of houses is that which immediately follows the temple of Ramesses III. They are those of the scribe of the army K̄ashuti, the prince of the West Pwerrō, the scribe of the quarter Wenennefer, and the district officers Aninakht and Amenkhau. These five officials are in Pap. 10054, vs. pp. 2-4 associated with Nesmut, a steward of the Singer of Amūn, in a distribution of spelt for making into bread, and it is clear that they formed an important part of the administration of the West of Thebes. That their houses immediately adjoined the Medînat Habu temple points to the fact, probable on other grounds, that this temple formed the administrative centre of the West of Thebes at this epoch. The importance of this group of names from the chronological point of view will be seen in a moment.

A study of the professions of the various house-owners is not without interest. They may be divided up as follows:

Priests

Prophet (*hm ntr*) 1, divine fathers 7, *wēb*-priests 41.

Scribes

Army 1, treasury 1, quarter (𓂏𓂐𓂑) 1, Necropolis 1, divine records 2, without specification 7.

Administrative officials

Prince of the West 1, district officers (*wcrtw*) 2, inspector (*rwḏ*) 1, deputy (*idnw*) 1, overseer of the quarter (*ḥt* 1, *ḥt* n *ḥt*, 1.

Professions and trades

Doctor 1, chiefs of Mazoi 2, Mazoi 7, chief stablemen 6, chief storeman 1, storeman 1, chief workman (*hry kḥwti*) 1, chief porter 1, porter 1, guard (*sḥw*) 1, chief gardeners 2, gardeners 5, herdsmen 18, land-workers 6, washermen 6, copper workers 9, gold worker 1, gilder (*shr*) 1, fishermen 12, bee-keepers 3, brewers 4, sandal-makers 8, attendants 3, incense roasters 2, measurer (*hḥi*) 1, potters (*kd*) 3, *irw wst šwi* 1, woodcutters 2. Without title 1.

To this list we may perhaps add the prophet Hapiwēr and the *sem*-priest. Khaemōpe, in charge of the temples of Seti I and Ramesses II respectively.

The value of such a list for the study of sociological conditions at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty is obvious. In using it, however, it is important not to lose sight of the very artificial composition of the population of the West of Thebes, where there was probably little business carried on except in connexion with the long line of funerary temples of the kings and the Necropolis. In connexion with the latter, however, it is to be noticed that, with the exception of one scribe, Efnamūn, no official or workman of the Necropolis is found among the householders. This would agree with other evidence tending to show that the Necropolis workers were housed in an enclosure specially organized for them and were not scattered over the West of Thebes.

The dating of the texts on the verso of 10068 is not altogether an easy matter. Our starting-point must be the fact that on the recto we have a tomb-robbery text dated in Year 17 of Neferkerē. If we proceed on the assumption, to which there are very few exceptions, that a scribe, when confronted with a new sheet of papyrus, filled the recto (H/V) first, then the verso texts are both later than this date. What is more, the *šrmt*-list is later than the house-list, for it forms a page of very irregular shape with abnormally long lines toward the bottom, precisely where they could be fitted in beneath the already written short last page of the house-list. Moreover, the scribe of the *šrmt*-list left a margin of 8 cm.

between his text and the edge of the papyrus on his right. He did this, in defiance of the waste involved, for a definite reason. He was anxious to have the customary blank outside to the roll when it was rolled up: had the recto and the rest of the verso been uninscribed he could have done away with his margin and still had three ways of rolling the papyrus so as to have a blank outside. The fact that he did leave such a margin shows that the other three ends were already occupied by writing, or, in other words, his was the last text to be written.

At the same time there is probably not much difference in date between the *šrmt*- and the house-lists. Of the contributors in the *šrmt*-list practically all are in the house-list, and though of course houses may continue in the same hands for some years, the length of time over which so many would remain unchanged is not likely to have been very great. It is indeed possible that the two texts bear an intimate relation to one another and that the house-list is a list actually intended for use by those responsible for levying the *šrmt*, whatever that may have been. That, however, is only conjecture. In any case the dates of the two lists are not likely to have been very far apart.

Now the house-list is dated in Year 12 of a reign which, as we have seen, must be later than that of Neferkerē. What is more, 10068 is clearly the papyrus described in Ambras 2. 2-3 as having been found in a jar in Year 6 of the *whm mswt*. Since Ambras makes no mention of the verso texts it is highly probable that these were written after the rediscovery of the papyri in the jar. Consequently they must be dated not earlier than the *whm mswt*,* the house-list not earlier than its twelfth year. An even later reign or epoch is of course also possible.

Such a comparatively late date would fit in with other evidence. Thus the five officials Pwerrō, K̄ashuti, Wenennefer, Aninakht, and Amenkhau, whose houses lay together beside the temple of Ramesses III, all appear in the same capacities in the bread-text of 10054 verso, which bears every trace of being later than the tomb-robbery texts on the same papyrus and is dated in Year 6, doubtless of the *whm mswt* or later (see p. 59 above).

Confirmatory evidence of a date late in the Dynasty is not hard to find. We saw elsewhere (p. 59) that K̄ashuti can be traced down as far as Year 17 of Ramesses XI Menmarē. One might almost

* For the date of this see p. 3, n. 1, and p. 7.

hazard the guess that the Wennefer who was vizier in Year 17 of Menmarēr (Turin Pap., P.R. 61) was the same person who in 10068 and elsewhere bore the more modest title of scribe of the quarter: in that case our papyrus could not be later than the 12th year of Menmarēr. That, however, is a pure conjecture.

The only other document known to us which bears any similarity to this is a fragmentary one at Turin of which a preliminary account has been published by Botti.* The correspondence is not very close, however, for, though Botti's papyrus is in a sense a list of houses, yet in its essential nature it is a census of persons living in those houses. What is more, if Botti is right in connecting the text of the recto with that of the verso, the persons concerned are employés of the Necropolis. It is much to be hoped that this papyrus will shortly be completed by the new fragments which Botti has found and its exact nature made known to us.

TRANSLATION (Plates IX-XVI)

Recto, p. 1 (Pl. IX)

(1) [Year . . . , . . . month of the . . . season, day] 10 + x , under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Neferkerēr Setpenrēr, Son of Rēr, Lord of Risings like Amūn, (2) . . . [Mi]amūn, beloved of Amenrēr King of the Gods, and of Mut and of Khons for ever and ever. (3) . . . [the] gold, the silver, the copper and everything which the [thieving] workmen [of the Necropolis]¹ were found to have stolen (4) when they were discovered to have violated this Place of Beauty on the West of Thebes, this Place in which (5) . . . rested,² and had been reported to the vizier Khaemwēse who is royal (6) . . .³ [and to the chief priest of Amūn] Amenhotpe by the prince Pewerō and by the scribe of the quarter Wenennefer of the West of Nō. Now the vizier and the chief priest (7) . . . [the temple] of King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usimarēr Miamūn in the House of Amūn on the West of Thebes [in] which the workmen, the [great] criminals, (8) . . . They were seized and apprehended along with the gold and silver and copper (9) . . . to Nō to the temple of Maat in Nō. (10) . . . thieves, the great criminals, on this day.

(11) [Found in possession of the thief the great criminal Nekhtmin son of] Pentewere of the Necropolis, as his share:

(One line lost here)

(12) (Trace only).

* *Frammenti di registri di stato civile della XXª dinastia, in Rendiconti della Reale Accad. Naz. dei Lincei*, xxxi, pp. 391 ff.

- (13) [Silver], 34 [*deben*] 5 *kite*.
 (14) [Total gold and silver], 42 *deben* 5 *kite*.
 (15) Rolled (?) . . . linen,⁴ lengths for various garments, 22.
 (16) [Found in possession of the thief, the great] criminal, the workman Amenue son of Hori of the Necropolis, as his share:
 (17) . . .
 (One line lost here)
 (18) . . . [of silver] figured (?)⁵ in good gold, 2, and (?) a vessel, making 27 *deben*.
 (19) [Total gold and silver, 34 *deben*] 6 *kite*.
 (20) Rolled (?) . . . linen, various garments, 17.

Recto, p. 2 (Pl. IX-X)

- (1) Found in possession of the thief, the great criminal, the workman Pentewere son of Amennakht of the Necropolis, as his share:
 (2) Good gold, 5 *kite*.
 (3) White gold, 2 *deben*.
 (4) Silver, 14 *deben* 5 *kite*.
 (5) Total of good gold, white gold and silver, 17 *deben*.
 (6) Hammered (?)⁶ copper, one corner-piece of a *srdd*, amounting to 12 *deben*.
 (7) *Mek*-linen and good Upper Egyptian cloth bound and rolled (?), various garments, 5.
 (8) Found in possession of the thief, the great criminal, the workman Amenhotpe son of Pentewere of the Necropolis, as his share:
 (9) Good gold, 1 *deben* 1 *kite*.
 (10) White gold, moulded⁷ (?), 7 *deben* 5 *kite*.
 (11) Silver, 34 *deben* 5 *kite*.
 (12) Total of good gold, white gold and silver, 43 *deben* 1 *kite*.
 (13) Bound *mek*-linen, 2 tunics.
 (14) Sweet oil, 2 small *kb*-vases.
 (15) Found in possession of the thief, the great criminal, the workman Mōse son of Pentewere of the Necropolis, as his share:
 (16) White gold, moulded (?), 1 *deben* 9 *kite*.
 (17) Silver, 20 *deben* 3 *kite*.
 (18) Total, gold and silver, 22 *deben* 2 *kite*.
 (19) Bronze, 1 inscribed (?)⁸ *kb*-vase, making 25 *deben*.
 (20) Good Upper Egyptian linen, bound, 2 sheets⁹, cut.
 (21) Bound *mek*-linen, and good Upper Egyptian linen, cuttings (?) 6.
 (22) Bound *mek*-linen, 2 *idg*-garments.
 (23) Total, various garments of Upper Egyptian cloth, 10.
 (24) Found in possession of the thief, the great criminal, the workman Peison son of Amenue of the Necropolis, as his share.

- (25) Good gold, moulded (?), 2 *deben* 2 *kite*.
- (26) White gold, moulded (?), 4 *deben* 5 *kite*.
- (27) Silver in the form of vessels, moulded (?), 12 *deben* 2 *kite*.
- (28) Total of good gold, white gold, and silver, 18 *deben* 9 *kite*.
- (29) Bronze, a spittoon weighing 11 *deben*.
- (30) *Mek*-linen, rolled and cut, 5.

Recto, p. 3 (Pl. x)

(1) Found in possession of the thief, the great criminal, the workman Anken son of Amenua of the Necropolis, as his share:

- (2) Good gold, 1 *deben* 1 *kite*.
- (3) White gold, 6 *deben* 7 *kite*.
- (4) Silver, 29 *deben* 5 *kite*.
- (5) Total, good gold, white gold and silver, 37 *deben* 3 *kite*.
- (6) Four corner-pieces¹⁰ inlaid¹¹ with the Birth of Horus in good gold.
- (7) Ivory, 1 . . . ¹² of an inner coffin.
- (8) Ebony, 1 lid (?) ¹³ of an inner coffin.
- (9) Ivory, 1 small head of an inner coffin.
- (10) *Mek*-linen, bound and cut, 2.

(11) Found in possession of the thief, the great criminal, the workman Hori son of Amenua of the Necropolis, as his share:

- (12) Good gold, 1 *deben* 7 *kite*.
- (13) White gold, 3 *deben* 5 *kite*.
- (14) Silver, 16 *deben*.
- (15) Total good gold, white gold and silver, 21 *deben* 8 *kite*.¹⁴

(16) Total of <good> gold, white gold, silver and copper received on this day and placed under the seal of the vizier and the chief priest of Amūn.

- (17) Good gold, 9 *deben* 2 *kite*. Found,¹⁵ 9 *deben* 5 *kite*.
- (18) White gold, 39 *deben* 1 *kite*. Found, 41 *deben*.
- (19) Silver, 188 *deben* 5 *kite*. Found, 190 *deben*.
- (20) Total, good gold, white gold and silver, 236 *deben* 8 *kite*. Found, 240 *deben* 5 *kite*. Surplus, 3 *deben* 7 *kite*.
- (21) Corner-pieces inlaid with a representation¹⁶ of the Birth of Horus in good gold, 4.
- (22) Copper in the form of vessels of beaten work, 48 *deben*.
- (23) Royal linen, *mek*-linen, good Upper Egyptian linen, rolled and bound, various garments, 63.
- (24) Ivory, 1 . . . of an inner coffin.
- (25) Ivory, 1 small head of an inner coffin.
- (26) Ebony, 1 small lid (?) of a coffin.
- (27) Sweet oil, 2 *kb*-vases.
- (28) Skeins (?) of thread¹⁷, 1.

Recto, p. 4 (Pl. XI)

(1) Received in Year 17, second month of winter, day 21, from the temple of Maat in Nō, out of the gold and silver recovered from the thieving workmen (2) of the Necropolis, which <they> were found to have given to the traders of every house¹⁸, and which was recovered by the vizier Khaemwēse (3) and the chief priest of Amen-Rē King of the Gods, Amenhotpe.

(4) The trader Nessobk son of Seniri belonging to the army commander chief of the Hittite¹⁹ troops Amennūfer, 6 *deben* 4 *kite* of silver.

(5) The trader Horemakheru, ditto, 1 *deben* 5 *kite* of gold and 3 *deben* 5 *kite* of silver.

(6) The trader Nessobk son of Hori, ditto, 1 *deben* of gold and 2 *deben* of silver.

(7) The trader Negiteru, ditto, 1 *deben* 5 *kite* of silver.

(8) The trader Neshor son of Hori, ditto, 2 *deben* 4 *kite* of silver.

(9) The trader Neban son of Astherkhepshef, ditto, 1 *deben* 8 *kite* of silver.

(10) The trader Nessobk son of Sebekhotpe, ditto, 2 *kite* of silver.

(11) The trader and slave Paiika belonging to the troop-captain Paiunezem of the temple of Rē, 6 *deben* 6 *kite* of silver.

(12) The trader Paiisebti of the temple of Sobk of Crocodilopolis in charge of the prophet Nekhemhētef (?),²⁰ 3 *deben* of silver.

(13) The trader Nesptah belonging to the singer of Sobk Ēse daughter of Hori who was army commander, 1 *deben* 6 *kite* of silver.

(14) The trader Khonsuza son of Kathi of the temple of Ptah in charge of the *sem*-priest, 2 *deben* 3½ *kite* of gold, equivalent to 4 *deben* 7 *kite* of silver.²¹

(15) The trader Ini son of Pesekt of the temple of Sobk in charge of the prophet Nekhemhētef (?), 2 *deben* of silver.

(16) The trader Seri son of Seniri belonging to the chief of the Hittite troops Senunozem (?) of the department (?) of Mermeshaf,²² 1 *deben* of silver.

(17) The trader Hori son of Pewazwaz belonging to the singer of Sobk Ēse daughter of Hori who was army commander, 2 *kite* of gold.

(18) Total of gold and silver recovered from the traders, found to have been given to them by the thieves of the Necropolis:

(19) Gold, 5 *deben* ½ *kite*.

(20) Silver, 32 *deben*.

(21) Good Upper Egyptian cloth, bound, various garments, 3 bales (?)²³

(22) Gold and silver which the thieves gave to the men of Nō and the West of Nō, recovered by the vizier and the chief priest of Amūn:

(23) Chief treasury guard of the temple of Amūn, Amenmōse, 4 *kite* of gold.

(24) The weaver Bukhaaf of the temple of Amūn, 3 *kite* of silver.

- (25) The *wēb*-priest Hori of the temple of Amūn, 1 *deben* of silver.
- (26) The oil-boiler Usimarē^rerhatamūn, *keti*-wood, 80 *deben*.
- (27) The *wēb*-priest Paiseri <son of> Taamūn of the temple of Usimarē^r Miamūn, 4 *kite* of gold.
- (28) The gardener Khaemtir, 4 *kite* of silver.
- (29) The scribe Senuipaiu of the temple of Usimarē^r Miamūn, 2 *kite* of silver.

Recto, p. 5 (Pl. XI-XII)

- (1) The weaver Paiukhed of the temple of Usimarē^r Setpenrē^r, 1 *kite* of silver.
- (2) The citizeness Ineri, 5 *kite* of silver.
- (3) The Mazoi Peķerer, 1 *kite* of silver.
- (4) The chief of Mazoi Nekhemhētef (?), 4 *kite* of silver.
- (5) The scribe Ahautinakht of the . . . of Amūn, in charge of the overseer of the department Nebmarē^remshuti, 1 *deben* of silver.
- (6) The scribe Hori son (?) of Pezi (?) of the singer of Amūn Ēsenefert, 1 *kite* of silver.
- (7) The weaver Kharu . . . of the temple of Amūn, 2 *kite* of silver.
- (8) The oil-boiler Hapiro of the temple of Amūn, 4 *kite* of silver.
- (9) Total, gold 8 *kite*.
- (10) Silver, 4 *deben* 7 *kite*.
- (11) *Keti*-wood, 80 *deben*.
- (12) Total, gold and silver recovered this day:
- (13) Gold, 5 *deben* 8½ *kite*.
- (14) Silver, 36 *deben* 7 *kite*.
- (15) Total of gold and silver, 42 *deben* 5½ *kite*.
- (16) *Keti*-wood, 80 *deben*.
- (17) That which contained them, 1 basket²⁴ of woven work.
- (18) Total, gold, silver and copper found in possession of the thieves the great criminals of the Necropolis, (19) delivered into the storehouse in the temple of Usimarē^r Miamūn:
- (20) Good gold, 9 *deben* 2 *kite* of the first lot. Found, 9 *deben* 5 *kite*.
- (21) Gold, 5 *deben* 8½ *kite* of what was brought afterwards.
- (22) White gold, 39 *deben* 1 *kite* of the first lot. Found, 41 *deben*.
- (23) Silver, 188 *deben* 5 *kite*, ditto. Found, 190 *deben*.
- (24) Silver, 36 *deben* 7 *kite* of what was brought afterwards.
- (25) Total, silver, 225 *deben* 2 *kite*. Found, 226 *deben* 7 *kite*.
- (26) Total, good gold, white gold and silver, 279 *deben* 3½ *kite*. Found, 283 *deben* ½ *kite*. Surplus, 3 *deben* 7 *kite*.

Recto, p. 6 (Pl. XII)

- (1) Copper in the form of vessels, 48 *deben*.
- (2) *Keti*-wood, 80 *deben*.

- (3) Corner-pieces inlaid with a representation of the Birth of Horus in good gold, 4.
- (4) Royal linen, *mek*-linen, Good Upper Egyptian linen, bound and rolled, various garments, 75.
- (5) Ivory, 1 small . . . of an inner coffin.
- (6) Ivory, 1 small head of an inner coffin.
- (7) Ebony, 1 lid (?) of a coffin.
- (8) Sweet oil, two small *kb*-vases.
- (9) Skeins (?) of thread, 1.
- (10) Their containers:
- (11) 1 chest of stuccoed ²⁵ wood and
- (12) 1 basket of woven work.
- (13) Gold and silver which the thieves gave to the men of the land,²⁶ who restored them:
- (14) The weaver Bukhaaf of the temple of Amūn, gold 1 *kite*, silver 6 *kite*.
- (15) The citizeness Ineri, the wife of the scribe Senuienpaiu, of the temple of Usimarē Miamūn. . . .
- (16) The foreigner (?) ²⁷ Khenerthi belonging to the chief priest of Amūn, 5 *kite* of silver.
- (17) The baker Petet of the chapel of Menpehtirē, 5 *kite* of silver.
- (18) The oil-boiler Neferhotpe of the temple of Khons, 4 *kite* of silver.
- (19) Total, gold 1 *kite*, silver 3 *deben*.
- (20) Vessels of offering which the thieves of the Necropolis said they brought away from this tomb which they violated, (21) and which they said they divided among themselves, a share to each, and which the vizier and the chief priest of Amūn recorded,²⁸ (22) and which were set down in a document, for recovery by the hand of the prince Pewēro and the scribe of the quarter Wenennefer of the West of Nō:
- (23) Bronze, *kb*-vessels for the toilet (??),²⁹ 4.
- (24) Bronze, *ns*-vessels,³⁰ 2.
- (25) Bronze, spittoons, 2.

Verso, p. 1 (Pl. XIII)

- (1) Year . . . , second month of winter, day 16. On this day the receiving of the gold, the silver, the copper and the clothing of the levy³¹ by the scribe Dhutmōse, the scribe Khonsmōse and the attendant Shedamenua.
- (2) The herdsman Penehsi son of Pekamen, gold $\frac{1}{2}$ *kite*, silver $\frac{1}{2}$ *kite*, copper 2 *deben*, coloured cloth 1 *rwg*-garment.
- (3) The groom Peteha, 1 *dstw*-garment.
- (4) The bee-keeper Sebeknakht, gold $\frac{1}{2}$ *kite*, coloured cloth a whip-lash³² (??). Handed over (?)³³ to the scribe Dhutmōse, his silver; handed over (?) to the servant Shedamenua, his copper, 2 *deben*.

- (5) The chief stableman Tha, gold $\frac{1}{2}$ kite, silver $\frac{1}{2}$ kite, copper 2 deben.
- (6) The water-bearer Ahai, gold $\frac{3}{4}$ kite. His silver and copper 2 deben. Coloured cloth 1 *rwḏ*-garment.
- (7) The coppersmith Pennō, gold 1 kite.
- (8) The fisherman Kharui and the fisherman Pnekht, gold 1 kite, silver 1 kite, copper 4 deben, coloured cloth 2 *rwḏ*-garments. Handed over to the scribe Pentahetnakht, copper 2 deben.
- (9) Scribe of the divine record Dhuthotpe and the scribe of the divine record Peikharu, gold 1 kite. Handed over (?) to the scribe of the army K̄ashuti, their copper and their clothing.
- (10) The chief [gardener]³⁴ Peson, gold $\frac{1}{2}$ kite, silver $\frac{1}{2}$ kite, copper 2 deben, coloured cloth 1 *rwḏ*-garment.
- (11) The washerman Hapiwēr, copper 1 deben, coloured cloth 1 *rwḏ*-garment.
- (12) The chief [store-keeper] Dhutemhab,³⁵ gold $\frac{1}{2}$ kite, silver $\frac{1}{2}$ kite, copper 2 deben, coloured cloth 1 *rwḏ*-garment.
- (13) Chief gardener Ptahemhab, gold $\frac{1}{2}$ kite, silver $\frac{1}{2}$ kite, copper 2 deben, coloured cloth 1 *rwḏ*-garment.
- (14) Chief stableman Hori, gold $\frac{3}{4}$ kite. His silver and copper 2 deben, coloured cloth 1 *rwḏ*-garment.
- (15) Chief guard K̄ashuti, gold $\frac{1}{2}$ kite, copper 2 deben, coloured cloth 1 *rwḏ*-garment.
- (16) Chief stableman Ahai, gold $\frac{1}{2}$ kite, copper 1 deben, coloured cloth 1 *rwḏ*-garment.
- (17) The gardener Userhatnakht, gold $\frac{1}{2}$ kite, silver $\frac{1}{2}$ kite.
- (18) The sandal-maker Sedi, gold $\frac{1}{4}$. His (*sic*) $\frac{1}{2}$ kite of silver and 2 deben of copper and 1 *rwḏ*-garment. Handed over (?) to the chief of the *št* ³⁶, his gold.
- (19) The sandal-maker Paiiabnakht, gold $\frac{1}{4}$, coloured cloth 2 *rwḏ*-garments.
- (20) The washerman Paukhed, copper 1 deben, coloured cloth 1 *rwḏ*-garment.
- (21) The herdsman Paankhemdiamūn, coloured cloth 1 *rwḏ*-garment. Handed over (?) to the scribe of the army K̄ashuti, copper 2 deben.
- (22) Chief porter Peinūfer, gold $\frac{1}{2}$ kite, copper 1 deben, coloured cloth 1 *rwḏ*-garment.
- (23) The porter Paiiminuresy. Handed over (?) to the scribe of the army K̄ashuti.
- (24) The servant Amenkhnemnehehnakht, copper 1 deben, coloured cloth 1 *rwḏ*-garment.
- (25) Levied ³⁷ from a (?) man in the temple of Amenhotpe, 1 *rwḏ*-garment.

Verso, p. 2 (Pl. XIV)

(1) Year 12, third month of summer, day 13. (2) Town-register of the West of Nō from the temple of King Menmarēr (3) to the Settlement of Maiunehes.

- (4) The house of the temple of King Menmarē in charge of the prophet Hapiwēr.
- (5) The house of the priest Ahautinefer.
- (6) The house of the prophet Sem of the temple of Amenhotpe.
- (7) The house of the priest Pnekhtresy.
- (8) The house of the priest Suembaḥamūn.
- (9) The house of the priest Pauaamenhotpe.
- (10) The house of the priest Bekenēse.
- (11) The house of the Mazoi Userhatsankh.
- (12) The house of the Mazoi Hori.
- (13) The house of the chief stableman Paukhed.
- (14) The house of the priest Kari of the House . . . ³⁸
- (15) The house of the temple of Usimarē Setpenrē in the House of Amūn in charge of the *sem*-priest Khaemōpe.
- (16) The house of the priest Hori son of Sedi.
- (17) The house of the priest Peison son of Peikharu.
- (18) The house of the priest Hori son of ditto.
- (19) The house of the priest Nesamūn son of ditto.
- (20) The house of the priest Setekhmōse son of Hapiwēr.
- (21) The house of the priest Qadet son of Penwenḥer.
- (22) The house of the priest Usimarērankh son of Setekhmōse.
- (23) The house of the priest Ker son of Khaemōpe.
- (24) The house of the gardener Pased.
- (25) The house of the sandal-maker Sutenu.
- (26) The house of the sandal-maker Rudnefer (?).

Verso, p. 3 (Pl. xiv)

- (1) The house of the scribe of the treasury Setekhmōse.
- (2) The house of the priest Anī, son of Qeni (?).
- (3) The house of the priest Peison son of Wennekh.
- (4) The house of the temple of Usimarē Miamūn in the House of Amūn.
- (5) The house of the scribe of the army Qashuti.
- (6) The house of the prince of the West of Nō, Pewatero.
- (7) The house of the scribe of the quarter Wennefer.
- (8) The house of the district officer Aninakht.
- (9) The house of the district officer Amenkhau.
- (10) The house of the chief gardener Ptahemhab.
- (11) The house of the chief porter Peinūfer.
- (12) The house of the gilder (?) Petaenamūn.
- (13) The house of the fisherman Pentewēre.
- (14) The house of the fisherman Neswennekh.
- (15) The house of the coppersmith Petheh.

- (16) The house of the attendant Seni.
- (17) The house of the brewer Paukhed.
- (18) The house of the chief warehouseman Dhutemhab.
- (19) The house of the priest Peison of the temple of Usimarēr Setpenrēr.
- (20) The house of the chief of Mazoi Amenuahsu.
- (21) The house of the herdsman Nekhtamūn of the house of the Divine Votaress.
- (22) The house of the landworker Peison belonging to the scribe ʿOneri.
- (23) The house of the coppersmith Peikharu son of Thari.
- (24) The house of the herdsman Penehsy son of Pakamen.
- (25) The house of the scribe Bekenkhons of the department of labour (??).
- (26) The house of the priest Peison son of Nekhtamūn.
- (27) The house of the divine father Amenkhau son of Theneri.
- (28) The house of the priest Peikharu of the temple of Nebmarēr (??).
- (29) The house of the priest and coppersmith Wenennekh.

Verso, p. 4 (Pl. xv)

- (1) The house of the priest and inspector Peikharu, son of Amenemōpe.
- (2) The house of the fisherman Kenpi.
- (3) The house of the chief stableman Ashathebsed.
- (4) The house of the herdsman Irinūfer.
- (5) The house of the incense-roaster Wenamūn.
- (6) The house of the herdsman Kison.
- (7) The house of the attendant Peikharu.
- (8) The house of the washerman Amenmōse.
- (9) The house of the Mazoi Kēni.
- (10) The house of the . . . -maker ³⁹ Painebresy.
- (11) The house of the bee-keeper Sebeknakht.
- (12) The house of the physician Minkhau.
- (13) The house of the inspector Dhuthotpe.
- (14) The house of Peikharu son of Aninakht.
- (15) The house of the herdsman Prēmhab.
- (16) The house of the priest Tetisheri.
- (17) The house of the goldsmith Nesptah.
- (18) The house of the warehouseman Setekhmōse.
- (19) The house of the priest Usermonth, son of Kharudi.
- (20) The house of the priest Keri, son of Uia (?).
- (21) The house of the divine father Hori, son of Amenōpe.
- (22) The house of the fisherman Pnakht, son of Amenemōne.
- (23) The house of the fisherman Kharudi.
- (24) The house of the fisherman Hedi.
- (25) The house of the fisherman Khonsmōse.
- (26) The house of the fisherman Nesamūn.

(27) The house of the washerman Paukhed.

(28) The house of the washerman Hapiwēr.

Verso, p. 5 (Pl. xv)

(1) The house of the priest Hori son of B....

(2) The house of the Mazoiri.

(3) The house of the washerman Ahaunūfer.

(4) The house of the priest Pen[amen]hotpe.

(5) The house of the divine father Kharudi.

(6) The house of the landworker Ahautimonth.

(7) The house of the gardener Ahautinūfer.

(8) The house of the coppersmith Pennō.

(9) The house of the priest Pentahetnakht son of Hapiwēr.

(10) The house of the coppersmith Pentahetnakht.

(11) The house of the overseer of the quarter Seramūn.

(12) The house of the chief stableman Ahai.

(13) The house of the builder Bekenmut.

(14) The house of the priest Penpewenher.

(15) The house of the fisherman Kadet.

(16) The house of the Mazoi Sermonth.

(17) The house of the priest Thewenani.

(18) The house of the scribe of the divine record Hori.

(19) The house of the scribe of the divine record Peikharu.

(20) The house of the divine father Nesamūn.

(21) The house of the coppersmith Peikharu of the temple of Hui.

(22) The house of the priest Thanūfer.

(23) The house of the gardener Userhatnakht.

(24) The house of the priest Peikharu son of Nesamūn.

(25) The house of the priest Hapiwēr son of Inin.

(26) The house of the priest Peison son of Rudi.

(27) The house of the priest Peiher.

(28) The house of the divine father Amenkhau, son of Bekenptah.

(29) The house of the coppersmith Paankhau.

Verso, p. 6 (Pl. xvi)

(1) The house of the sandal-maker Ashatikht.

(2) The house of the sandal-maker Penabnakht.

(3) The house of the sandal-maker Sedi.

(4) The house of the sandal-maker Teni.

(5) The house of the scribe Panekhtemōpe.

(6) The house of the woodcutter Keniamūn.

(7) The house of the chief gardener Peison.

(8) The house of the scribe Ahautinūfer.

(9) The house of the scribe Hori son of Seni.

- (10) The house of the woodcutter Sedi.
- (11) The house of the priest Ahauti.
- (12) The house of the priest and coppersmith Khonsmōse.
- (13) The house of the chief of the *ḫrht* Peikharu.
- (14) The house of the builder ⁴⁰ Wenennefer.
- (15) The house of the gardener Pnekhtemōpe.
- (16) The house of the bee-keeper Peipinu.
- (17) The house of the measurer Kāshuti.
- (18) The house of the brewer Hornehes.
- (19) The house of the herdsman Peikharu.
- (20) The house of the herdsman Efnamūn.
- (21) The house of the scribe Dhutmōse.
- (22) The house of the deputy Nesamūn.
- (23) The house of the coppersmith Teti.
- (24) The house of the coppersmith Nesamūn.
- (25) The house of the potter ⁴¹ Ahauty.
- (26) The house of the incense-roaster Ankheritir.
- (27) The fisherman Kēnishutyimu. ⁴²
- (28) The house of the chief stableman Nesamūn.
- (29) The house of the Mazoi Peķerer.

Verso, p. 7 (Pl. XVI)

- (1) The house of the fisherman Peiukhed.
- (2) The house of the herdsman Paankhemdyamūn.
- (3) The house of the priest Peiheri.
- (4) The house of the porter Peiiminuresy.
- (5) The house of the scribe Seramūn son of Weneren.
- (6) The house of the herdsman Sebekankh.
- (7) The house of the chief of Mazoi Nesamūn.
- (8) The house of the scribe Efnamūn of the Necropolis.
- (9) The house of the chief stableman Seba.
- (10) The house of the chief stableman Petheh.
- (11) The house of the landworker Amenkhau of the estate of Pharaoh.
- (12) The house of the herdsman Penehsy, son of Takharu the younger.
- (13) The house of the herdsman Keri.
- (14) The house of the herdsman Menthnakht.
- (15) The house of the goatherd Menthnakht, son of Tanebshed.
- (16) The house of the goatherd Hapiro.
- (17) The house of the priest Ankheritir of the temple of Sobk.
- (18) The house of the washerman Ptahkhau.
- (19) The house of the washerman Keri.
- (20) The house of the scribe Pesiūr, son of Taamūn.
- (21) The house of the divine father Hapiwēr.

piece 3, line 5; Pap. Bibl. Nat. Paris, 211, ro. 2. 4, and 210, ro. 1. 4. It is used of faience (*thnt*) in Harris, 34a. 6 and 53b. 2.

☞ may be an abbreviation of *crk*, 'to bind', and suggests 'bound', 'hemmed', or similar, though this is only a guess.

☞☞, if this be the correct reading, is the well-known word for 'red cloth', *insl*. The form of ☞ is, however, without parallel, and the obvious alternative reading ☞☞ is not to be too lightly cast aside. The variant writings of the word are not altogether favourable to the reading *insl*. Before the ☞ there are in ro. 2. 30 two ☞ signs; in ro. 2. 7 we seem to have ☞, and in ro. 3. 23 perhaps the same group but ligatured to the preceding ☞. These variants, all of which, if they represent anything at all, must stand for a weak consonant, suggest that the varying group is the end of the phonetic writing of the word and that the ☞ is here a determinative, which, in view of the origin of the sign (GARDINER, *Grammar*, p. 494, S. 29), is not altogether impossible. Should this be right and the reading *icnn* be established, a connexion with *cnn*, 'to wind' or 'roll', at once suggests itself.

The three words *šcd*, *crk* (?), and *ins* (?) are usually connected to the preceding cloth-name by *m*, e.g. *mk m crk*, ro. 2. 13, 'bound mek-linen'; *ins* (?) in the fully preserved cases is always so connected. The introduction of *n* after *šcd* in the present line is unique. It is perhaps erroneous and due to the influence of the adjacent *šbn*.

5. ro. 1. 18. The damaged word at the beginning must be the name of the object and *hp* must be, despite its determinative, a passive participle. Is it connected with *hprw*, 'ornamental figures' on doors, &c., BRUGSCH, *Wb.* 1044, 1071, and *Suppl.* 961? The numeral 2 gives the number of these objects stolen. The word *hnw* may be in apposition to these, the two constituting a single utensil. Otherwise we must take it as a third object: 'Two . . . s figured (?) in good gold and a vase, making 27 *deben*.' The objects are of silver, as the addition shows (see above, p. 80). Cf. *ht m nb nfr*, ro. 3. 6.

6. ro. 2. 6. *km*, literally 'formed' or 'shaped' copper. The choice is between 'moulded' and 'hammered'. Cf. Pap. Harris *passim*, and BRUGSCH, *Wb.*, *Suppl.* 1247. See too MONTET in *Kémi*, i, p. 11. The word *srdd* seems to be unknown.

7. ro. 2. 10. *tbth*. One would expect this to be the origin of the Coptic τβτβ, which means 'to devise' or 'form', and this correspondence would suggest the meaning 'mould' here. In *Urk.* iv, 658. 4 and 7, however, *tbth* must mean to pull or draw, and silver, and still more gold, can be worked by drawing. On the other hand, if in ro. 2. 27 *hnw* means literally vessels, as is probable, and not merely things, 'drawn' is hardly suitable. The examples given by BRUGSCH, *Wb.* 1534 and *Suppl.* 1317 suggest that there existed two verbs at least with this same stem and entirely different meanings.

8. ro. 2. 19. *wmn* appears to be unknown.

9. ro. 2. 20. For \equiv read \equiv (Černý), *ifd*, both here and in Mayer A, 4. 7.

10. ro. 3. 6. This word occurs three times, ro. 3. 6, 6. 3, and 3. 21: our scribe has formed its determinative quite differently on each occasion, and in 3. 6 he has omitted the feminine ending. This is clearly not the *ḫḫt*-vase (det. 8) of 10053, ro. 5. 6 and 7, Turin Necropolis Diary, Year 17, B ro. 3. 11 and 5. 3, but the *ḫḫt* of A vs. 4. 8 of this last papyrus, where four copper *ḫḫt* belonging to *pḥ ḫmit* are mentioned. The word is clearly connected with *ḫḫ*, 'an arm', or *ḫḫ*, 'a corner'. Perhaps 'corner-pieces'.

11. ro. 3. 6. See note on Amherst, 2. 6. Note the order of the words which follow, first the material 'good gold' and then the object made thereof, 'inlaid with the Birth of Horus in good gold.'

12. ro. 3. 7. *wḫ* seems to be unknown.

13. ro. 3. 8. *kp*, written with a puzzling determinative (\equiv ?) in ro. 3. 26 and 6. 7, is presumably the noun used in Shipwrecked Sailor 43-4 with the meaning of 'cover'. As, however, a whole sarcophagus lid can hardly have been made of such a valuable wood as ebony, it may here be only a specific part of the cover.

14. ro. 3. 15. The 8 *kite* should be only 2, and as such they are added in the total of line 15.

15. ro. 3. 17. Possibly this second figure is the amount actually found by weighing, while the first figure is that given by the thief himself.


16. ro. 3. 21. *wšb* seems to mean 'representation' or similar, but it is not elsewhere known in this sense. For the order of words in this line see note 11 on ro. 3. 6.

17. ro. 3. 28. *šst* or *ššrt*, if this be the reading, is not uncommon in New Kingdom papyri, e.g. Harris *passim* (KARL PIEHL, *Dictionnaire du Papyrus Harris* No. 1, p. 50, under *nt*), Turin 2002, vs. 4. 6 and 4. 10 (= P.R. cvi. 6 and 10), Anastasi vi, 2. 13 and 14. In the Harris and Anastasi passages as well as in the present papyrus the first δ sign is made differently from the second, as in *šš nšwt* (see *Ä.Z.*, xlix, p. 17, note, and *J.E.A.*, xv, pp. 54-5). The meaning generally given to the word is 'thread' or 'yarn', which would suit well in the Anastasi passage, where *šst* for making (?) three different materials is mentioned, namely, *šš nšwt*, *mk*-linen, and another now lost: it is measured in *mnw*.

mḫ, judging by its determinative, is related to the word for 'fetter' rather than that for 'to weigh'. In Pap. Anast. iv, 14. 6 and Pap. Harris, 19a. 4 it is used of figs, and doubtless means the 'strings' in which figs were made up for sale in ancient Egypt as in modern. If *šst* really means thread or similar, *mḫ* may well be 'skeins', 'hanks'.


18. ro. 4. 2. *pr* must mean commercial house; cf. Pap. Lansing, 4. 10.

19. ro. 4. 4. Cf. BURCHARDT, *Altkan. Fremdw.*, No. 1124.

20. ro. 4. 12. This name occurs here, in 4. 15 and in 5. 4. The reading  is not certain, and unconvincing in the case of 5. 4.

21. ro. 4. 14. An interesting and incontrovertible proof of the fact that at this period gold was twice as valuable as silver.

22. ro. 4. 16. The sense strongly suggests the reading *pꜣ htm n Mr-mšꜣf*, 'the fortress of M.', but it is palaeographically impossible. What the *hꜣ* (department) of Mermeshaf could be it is impossible to conjecture. Is *pꜣ hꜣ n Mr-mšꜣf* a fortress-name?

23. ro. 4. 21. The reading  seems certain, but of what is it an abbreviation?

24. ro. 5. 17. Only here and B.M. Ostrakon, 5639a, ro. 14 (BURCHARDT, *Altkan. Fremdw.*, No. 887).

25. ro. 6. 11. See GARDINER, *Admonitions*, 11. 3 and his note. In view of the application of the verb to wood in the present passage he may be wrong in treating the *skh* of Pap. Harris, 15b. 10, 71a. 4 and 6 as a different word.

26. ro. 6. 13. See note on 10054, vs. 2. 1 (p. 70).

27. ro. 6. 16. Incorrect determinative from *rw* 'to sleep'.


28. ro. 6. 21. For this curious dative, referring either to the thieves or the stolen vessels, compare Abbott, 6. 11 and note 22, p. 44.

29. ro. 6. 23. The same expression seems to occur in a similar context, Pap. Turin, P.R. 102, col. i. 8 (collated).

30. ro. 6. 24. For *nšw* see Berlin *Wb.*, ii. 338.

31. vs. 1. 1. *šrmt*. Cf. Pap. Anastasi i, 17. 5; BRUGSCH, *Wb.*, 1429; BURCHARDT, *Altkan. Fremdw.*, No. 871. Unfortunately nothing in our text enables us to discern the exact nature of this contribution or levy.

32. vs. 1. 4. *krt*. Probably the *krt* of Pap. Anast. iv, 17. 2 (BURCHARDT, *A.F.*, No. 1025), where the meaning 'whip-lash' seems probable. It is there made of red cloth, *insl*.

33. vs. 1. 4. 'Handed over' is a guess. I cannot find any word of which  could be an abbreviation which would make sense and at the same time allow of this construction with *n*, unless it be *štr*.

34. vs. 1. 10. The title restored from vs. 6. 7.

35. vs. 1. 12. Title restored from vs. 3. 18.

36. vs. 1. 18. Cf. Ambras, 1. 4 and note *ad loc*.

37. vs. 1. 25. *šd*, usually to 'recover' lost property in these papyri, also means (1) to exact a payment and (2) to draw (rations, &c.). Literally, 'in a levied state'. For a similar phrase, though perhaps with slightly different meaning, see 10053, vs. 1. 13. For *rc* in the sense of 'a state of' cf. Abbott, 2. 12, *A.Z.*, xlvii, pp. 148 ff.

38. vs. 2. 14. *rkḥ* is not a convincing reading.

39. vs. 4. 10. Cf. Golenishchef Glossary, 2. 11, and a wooden tablet of Twenty-first Dynasty date at University College, see *Rec. trav.*, xix. 92.

Literally, 'one who makes a reed-path', if indeed *šwt* really be reeds. Is a 'reed-path' some kind of strong reed mat which could be laid down for walking on or even for light wheeled traffic?

For *šwt* see Pap. Koller, 2. 9 = Pap. Anast. iv, 2. 11, Anast. iv, 8. 12 and Sall. ii, 1. 6.

40. vs. 6. 14. See note on 6. 25 below.

41. vs. 6. 25. The *kd* Ahauty of Turin Necropolis Journal for Year 17, B ro. 2. 2, is clearly a potter. This may well be the same man. Does *kd* ever mean a 'builder' in these texts?

42. vs. 6. 27. *šwti* may be the correct reading of the unusual group, but see *Ä.Z.*, xlvii, pp. 44 ff.

PAPYRUS B.M. 10053 (recto)

DESCRIPTION AND CONTENTS

This was once a fine piece of papyrus 215 cm. in length and about 42 in height. It was damaged in an explosion while in Alexandria in the house of Mr. Harris, who seems to have been its original buyer. It is said to have been found at Medīnat Habu in 1860.* In 1872 it was bought by the Trustees of the British Museum.

Fortunately a tracing was made by Miss Harris of the recto of the papyrus before the accident which reduced it to its present deplorable condition, and this tracing, which is of very fair accuracy, was preserved in the collections of Lord Amherst of Hackney at Didlington Hall in Norfolk, where it was seen and used by Newberry in 1898. At the time when this tracing was made the document was quite perfect. It has now (Pl. XXXIX) lost the bottoms of the lines of the recto and consequently the tops of those of the verso, with the exception of a number of fragments, most of which, in the present mounting between sheets of plate glass, are placed with tolerable accuracy, doubtless on the evidence of the tracing. The maximum height of the main body of the papyrus is 35 cm., so that a minimum of 7 cm. in height has been lost.

The papyrus bears two distinct texts. That of the recto, i.e. the face on which the main fibres are horizontal, is the earlier, written in a fine large hand, very clear to see, but not devoid of ligatures and abbreviations. It is the text published by Newberry in his *The Amherst Papyri* (Egyptian), London, 1899, under the

* NEWBERRY, *Amherst Papyri*, p. 29. See also above, p. 52.

name of Harris A. The text of the verso is in a rather small hand not unlike that of B.M. 10052 and Mayer A, but with some forms approximating to those of the recto of 10054. This text is dealt with in Group IV (see pp. 112 ff.). For the moment we are concerned only with the recto.

The text of the recto consists of eight pages or columns, the last of which contains only two lines. These columns occupy practically the whole surface of the papyrus. The text is given in Plates XVII-XIX, where it is to be noted that passages enclosed within square brackets are restorations from the tracing, and are no longer to be found on the original.

In the sketch of the papyrus given in Pl. XXXIX the position of the fragments is indicated and each has been given a letter. The reader should have no difficulty in identifying them with those shown in Newberry's Plates VIII to XIV with the assistance of the following table (the letters run from right to left):

Plate VIII = Page 1. A in lines 15-17, B and C in 18, and D in 17-18.

Plate IX = Page 2. E in line 19, F in 19, G in 17-18, and H in 19. E, however, though mounted where Newberry places it, does not bear the signs shown on it in the plate, but traces of *hm-ntr tpi*, and is doubtless to be transferred to the position occupied by these words near the end of line 15. H, moreover, only bears a dot, the stroke shown after it being actually on K (see Plate X), which fits on to H on a vertical line between the two signs.

Plate X = Page 3. K in line 19 (see on H above), L in 18, M and N in 19.

Plates XI and XII = Pages 4 and 5. No fragments.

Plate XIII = Page 6. O in line 17, P in 15-16, Q in 18.

Plate XIV = Page 7. R in lines 15-16, S in 18, T in 17-18.

The nature of the text is quite clear. It is dated in Year 17 of Neferkerē^r Ramesses IX, day 8 of the first winter month. It contains the depositions of eight thieves regarding their disposal of certain objects or quantities of copper stolen from the 'Beautiful Place', the Valley of the Queens, from a tomb which is not specified (see, however, above, p. 79). These depositions are stated to have been put into writing for the assistance of the prince of the West Power^{ro} and certain other officials of the Necropolis in the recovery of the stolen property. This was doubtless done at the instance of the vizier and the chief priest of Amūn, who had

examined the men in the temple of Maat in Thebes, whither they had been taken.

The text contains the depositions of eight thieves, each deposition bearing the usual heading *nꜥ ddt n X*, 'that which so-and-so said'. Of one thief, Hori, two depositions are given, the first under the name *ddt n* (5. 17 ff.) and the second under the name of *šsp r* (7. 13 ff.), which apparently had precisely the same meaning as *ddt n*. These two depositions of Hori are quite independent, no name occurring in both, and there is no obvious reason why he, unlike the rest, should have made two separate statements.

Each list consists of a series of names of persons bearing the most varied titles, and each name is followed by a quantity of copper expressed in *deben*. In rare cases the nature of the object is indicated, a *nw*-vase, a mirror, or a *kb*-vase.

Although the lists profess to deal only with copper, there are a few references to bronze, e. g. 4. 13, 5. 10, 5. 14, three to gold, 2. 13 (5 *kite*), 4. 5 (6 *kite*) and 4. 11 (4 *kite*), and three to silver; of this last metal we read of one *deben* in 5. 12 and of a chest either containing or ornamented with silver in 5. 6 and 5. 14.

TRANSLATION (Plates XVII-XIX)

Page 1 (Pl. XVII)

(1) Year 17, first month of the winter season, day 8 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Neferkerēr Setpenrēr, Son of Rēr, Lord of Risings, (2) Ramesses Khaemwēse Miamen-rasonther,¹ beloved of Amenrēr King of the Gods, (3) endowed with life for ever and eternity like his father Amenrēr King of the Gods, and Mut, the Great, Mistress of Asheru.

(4) Record of depositions.² The copper belonging to the thieves who were found to have robbed the Beautiful Place, and (5) examined³ by the Vizier Khaemwēse and the chief priest of Amūn King of the Gods Am-hotpe in the temple of Maat in Thebes, (6) which was set down in writing in order to its recovery by the hand of the prince Pewerro, the scribe of the quarter Wenennefer, the chief workman (7) of the Necropolis Userkhepesh, the . . . Ḳadet⁴ and (?) the porter Khonsmōse of the Necropolis.

(8) Deposition⁵ of the thief Amenua⁶ son of Hori of the Necropolis.

(9) The citizeness Iner, the wife of the scribe Seni, who is dead; a *kb*-vase of bronze making 35 *deben* and an *r*-vase of bronze making 10 *deben*.

(10) The merchant Khonsui (?) [of] Merur;⁷ a wash-bowl of bronze making 20 *deben*.

- (11) The scribe Bekenkhons of the Residence (?); 20 *deben* of copper.
 (12) The goat-herd Mentnakht of the temple of Amūn in charge of the chief priest of Amūn; 10 *deben* of copper.
 (13) ⁸ The slave and porter Inerk of the chief priest of Amūn; 5.
 (14) The fisherman Neban of the second prophet of Amūn; 10.
 (15) The merchant Nesobk son of Seniri of Merur; ⁹ one *nw*-vase of bronze, a wash-bowl of bronze, making 30 *deben* of copper.
 (16) Deposition of the thief Pentawere son of Amennakht of the Necropolis.
 (17) The scribe Merirē of the chief priest of Amūn; a *kb*-vase of bronze making 5 (?) ¹⁰ *deben* of copper.
 (18) The boat's captain Efnamūn of the temple, in charge of the chief priest of Amūn; 10 *deben* of copper.

Page 2 (Pl. XVII)

- (1) The carpenter Peinūfer of the House of the Divine Votaress of Amūn; 10.
 (2) The weaver Khonsmōse son of Thewnōzem of the temple of Amūn; 10.
 (3) The weaver Peḥesi of the temple of Amūn; 10.
 (4) The weaver Thewnōzem of the temple of Amūn; 10.
 (5) ¹¹ The guard Sedi of the granary of Pharaoh; 10.
 (6) The weaver (?) Thayamenemimu <of> the temple of Amūn; 10.
 (7) The herdsman Keniamūn of the Divine Votaress of Amūn; 10.
 (8) The fireman Sennūfer of the temple of Sobk Lord of Gebelēn; 10.
 (9) The fisherman Nekhtamenwēse; 5.
 (10) The *wēb*-priest Sedi of the chapel of King Nebmarē in charge of the *sem*-priest Hori; 5.
 (11) Deposition of the thief Nekhtmin son of Pentewere of the Necropolis.
 (12) The merchant Pweremnō of Merur; 5.
 (13) The merchant Nessobk son of Seniri of Merur; 5 *kite* of gold and 20 (*deben*) of copper.
 (14) The coppersmith Amenherib of the Necropolis; 3 (*deben*) of copper.
 (15) The sandal-maker Paabnakht of the temple of Usimarē Miamūn in charge of the chief priest of Amūn; 3.
 (16) The sandal-maker Ashatikht of the temple of Usimarē Miamūn; 2.
 (17) The workman Userhatmer of the Necropolis; 2.
 (18) The citizeness Arf of the Necropolis, the wife of the workman Hori; 1.
 (19) The citizeness Takiri of the Necropolis; 1.

Page 3 (Pl. XVII)

- (1) The merchant Pekharu, by the hand of the merchant Peisebti; 5.
 (2) The merchant Hormaat, son of Tebener; 5.

- (3) The workman Sennōzem of the Necropolis; 5.
- (4) The water-bearer Penasuniamūn of the chief priest of Amūn; 20.
- (5) The brewer Wener of the *sem*-priest Hori of the temple of King Nebmarēr; 6.
- (6) The merchant Paiunōzem of Merur; 5.
- (7) The oil-boiler Seni of the temple of Khons; 6.
- (8) The oil-boiler Pebes of the temple of Amūn; 3.
- (9) The oil-boiler Itanūfer of the temple of Amūn; 5.
- (10) The merchant Ashatkeni of Merur; 7.
- (11) The temple scribe Panakhtresitep of the temple of Usimarēr Miamūn; 7.
- (12) The workman Kison <son of> Amennakht; 3.
- (13) The gardener Inua of the temple, in charge of the steward of the temple; 2.
- (14) The oil-boiler Pakapauia of the overseer of the hunters of Amūn; 8.
- (15) The citizeness Tamit, by the hand of the workman Neḥsy of the Necropolis; 10.
- (16) Deposition of the thief Amenhotpe son of Pentewere of the Necropolis.
- (17) The boat's-captain Efnamūn of the temple of Usimarēr Miamūn, in charge of the chief priest of Amūn; 20.
- (18) The workman Sennōzem of the Necropolis; 5.
- (19) The *wēb*-priest and coppersmith Pekharu of the temple of King Nebmarēr in charge of the *sem*-priest Hori; 20. ,

Page 4 (Pl. xviii)

- (1) The scribe Pesiūr of the House of Pharaoh; 5.
- (2) The baker Hormose of the temple of Usimarēr Miamūn; 5.
- (3) The scribe Shedsukhons of the weavers of the temple of Amūn, in charge of the chief priest of Amūn; 10.
- (4) The merchant Bekurner of the temple of Khnum, Lord of Elephantine; 10.
- (5) The merchant Nessobk son of Hori, whose mother is Ti; 30 *deben* of copper and 6 *kite* of gold.
- (6) The weaver Penwenhab of the temple of Amūn, in charge of the chief priest of Amūn; 10.
- (7) The water-bearer Penasuniamūn of the chief priest of Amūn; 5.
- (8) The guard Oshefi of the granary of Amūn; 5.
- (9) Deposition of the thief Mōse, son of Pentewere of the Necropolis.
- (10) The slave Mehḥpeneben belonging to a merchant who lives in the chapel of Amūn . . . ; ¹² 20.

- (11) The merchant Nanegiteru of Merur; 4 *kite* of gold and 10 *deben* of copper.
- (12) The citizeness Tami[t] of Nō; 10.
- (13) The storeman Reret of the temple of Amūn who lives in the lodge¹³ of the temple of Amūn; a mirror of bronze making 6 *deben*.
- (14) Given to him on a second occasion; 10 *deben* of copper.
- (15) The overseer of weavers Iriperet of the temple of Amūn; 10.
- (16) The brewer (?) of the House of the Divine Votaress of Amūn by the hand of the workman Pewensh; 10.
- (17) The weaver Pezez of the temple of Amūn in the charge of the chief priest of Amūn; 5.
- (18) The servant Maharbaal of the House of the Divine Votaress of Amūn; 10.
- (19) The weaver Pemedushepsinakht of the temple of Amūn in charge of the chief priest of Amūn; 10.
- (20) The citizeness Tanepi the wife of Pneferui of the House of the Divine Votaress of Amūn; 10.

Page 5 (Pl. xviii)

- (1) The *wēb*-priest Pesiūr son of Userhēt of the temple of Amūn, in charge of the chief priest of Amūn; 10.
- (2) The merchant Pweremnō of Merur; 7.
- (3) The overseer Sauipedmi of the weavers of the chantress of Amūn Iner; 5.
- (4) Deposition of the thief Peison son of Amenua of the Necropolis.
- (5) The merchant Neban of Merur; 30 *deben* of copper.
- (6) The¹⁴ citizeness Tereri, the wife of the thief Mōse son of Pentewere; a *ḥḥt*-vase of copper, making 10; and the chest containing silver (7) which is in the hands of the weaver Ḳeniminu: the copper of the *ḥḥt*-vase is 10.
- (8) The workman Prehotpe of the Necropolis; 10.
- (9) The slave Tek¹⁵ of the temple of Amūn, in charge of the chief priest of Amūn; 10.
- (10) The citizeness Tasent the wife of the thief Peison; a *mḥ-bḥ*¹⁶ of bronze, making 8 *deben*.
- (11) The soldier Bekurner of the battalion of Ethiopia; 10.
- (12) The boat's-captain Monthamūn of the temple of Usimarē Miamūn in charge of the chief priest of Amūn; 1 *deben* of silver.
- (13) The merchant Setekhnakht by the hand of the citizeness Wenemdimut; 5: (14) one *ḥ*-vase of bronze. Received into the storehouse: it is in the chest containing silver.
- (15)¹⁷ The citizeness Tamy the wife of a washerman of the chief priest of Amūn; 10.

(16) The sandal-maker Paabnekht of the temple of Usimarē Miamūn, in charge of the chief priest of Amūn; 5.

(17) Deposition of the thief Hori son of Amenuea of the Necropolis.

Page 6 (Pl. XIX)

- (1) The water-bearer Ahauty of the royal scribe and crown-prince Hui; ¹⁶ 15 *deben* of copper.
- (2) The washerman Thewbau (?) of the temple of Amūn, in charge of the chief priest of Amūn; 10.
- (3) The citizeness Tahenutpethew of the West of Nō; 7.
- (4) The citizeness Thentpauba who dwells in the granary of the temple of Khons; 10.
- (5) The water-bearer Pentehetnakht of the royal scribe and crown-prince Hui; ¹⁶ 5.
- (6) The citizeness Tamy the wife of the fourth priest of Amūn; 10.
- (7) The washerman Khonskhau of the scribe Amūnempermut of the chief priest of Amūn; 5.
- (8) The weaver Ruteti of the temple of Amūn in charge of the chief priest of Amūn; 10.
- (9) The slave Tashes of the temple of Amūn, in charge of the chief priest of Amūn; 10.
- (10) The overseer Penwenhab of the weavers of Pairsekher scribe of the temple of Amūn; 4.
- (11) The *wēb*-priest Ahautiꜣ of the temple of Month Lord of Hermonthis; 10.
- (12) Total (*sic*).

- (13) Deposition of the thief Peḫen, son of Amenuea of the Necropolis.
- (14) The workman Peinūfer son of Pehemneter of the Necropolis.
- (15) The workman Peison son of Pehemneter of the Necropolis.
- (16) The *wēb*-priest Khonsemhab of the temple of King Okekheper.
- (17) The scribe Pentewere son of Hori of the temple, in charge of the steward.
- (18) The weaver Pessept of the temple of Amūn, in the charge of the chief priest of Amūn.

Page 7 (Pl. XIX)

- (1) The weaver Ḳeniminu who lives in Nō; 10.
- (2) The workman Azdnōzem son of Peikerui of the Necropolis; 5.
- (3) The sailor Nesamūn of the prophet of Anhur; 5.
- (4) The slave Zati Teker ¹⁷ of the temple of Amūn; 10.
- (5) The soldier Bekurner of the battalion of Ethiopias; 10.

- (6) The *wēb*-priest and trumpeter Seret of the temple of Mut; 16.
 (7) The guard Pnuferemneb of the granary of Amūn; 10.
 (8) The citizeness Mutamūn, the wife of the carpenter Amenrekh of the Place of Truth; 10.
 (9) The guard Sedi of the granary of the temple of Amūn in the charge of the overseer of the Double Granary; 10.
 (10) The physician Pehatiu of the temple of Amūn; 10.
 (11) The barber Kineben; 5.
 (12) The cripple (??)¹⁹ Kineben, who lives in the chapel of Menpehtirē; 5.
 (13) Interrogatory of the thief Hori son of Amenua of the Necropolis.
 (14) The weaver Pemedushepsinakht, who lives in the house of Pharaoh, inside the temple of Mehit; ²⁰ 15 *deben* of copper.
 (15) The coppersmith Pekhihat of the Necropolis; 6 *deben* of copper.
 (16) The sailor Pati, who lives in Ōpe in the house of the chief priest of Amūn; 5.
 (17) The washerman Khari of the prophet of Month Lord of Hermonthis, in the charge of the prophet of Month; 5.
 (18) The merchant Kethesi, who lives on the boat of the merchant Nessobk; 10: paid over to the merchant Harshefkhou; 10.

Page 8 (Pl. xix)

- (1) The merchant Ineri of Merur; 5.
 (2) The citizeness Iner of the West of Nō; 5.

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

1. 1. 2. The scribe has confused the Miamūn which is part of his second name with the epithet 'beloved of Amūn', &c., which follows.

2. 1. 4. Clearly *n* *hmt* cannot be the subject of the Relative Form *dd·tn*, and this must consequently be used as a noun in close genitival connexion with *wti*, literally 'document of depositions'. Cf. *wti-šp-it*, 'barley receipt voucher', Pap. Turin, P.R. 65c. 3; *wti-imi-rnf*, 'written list of names', Pap. Turin, P.R. 49. 2, &c. We may either take *wti-dd·tn* alone as title to the document or suppose that a genitival *n* is to be read before *n* *hmt*, 'Document of depositions of (concerning) the copper of the thieves'.

Of the two passive participles which follow, *i-iry* (l. 5) agrees with *itw* and *i-di* (l. 6) with *hmt*.

3. 1. 6. The incorrect position of the direct object *p·i-w smti* after the prepositional phrase *m pr M·rt m Nwt*, which is written over an erasure, is probably due to an incompletely carried out alteration.

4. 1. 7. Possibly the guard Kādet, known from Turin Journal of Year 17, A ro. 4. 8 and B ro. 1. 2.

5. 1. 8. For *dd·tn* as a plural noun with the article cf. Mayer A, 13 A. 1.

6. 1. 8. The correct reading of this name, accurately written here, is 'Imn-wr-tw, 'Amūn is unique', wr-tw being a Late Eg. Old Perfective.

7. 1. 10. Mr-wr. This must be the well known ancient Egyptian name for Lake Moeris, used for the Fayyūm in general. It is curious that nearly all the merchants in this list come from there. Cf. 10052, 5. 1 and 5. 12.

8. 1. 13. Before the line stands the group ḥr-n, as also in ro. 2. 5. It may mean that some copyist or reader of the list has 'stopped' at these points.

9. 1. 15. Cf. ro. 2. 13. The tracing is indistinct in both places, but the true reading, given in Corrections to Plates, is indicated by 10068, ro. 4. 4.

10. 1. 17. The figure given by the tracing arouses our suspicions, and in the Turin parallel, Journal Year 17, B ro. 3. 6 the number is 30.

11. 2. 5. For ḥr-n see note on ro. 1. 13.

12. 4. 10. The group which follows Amūn may be an epithet of the god; cf. 'Imn-bw-knn-tw of Pap. B.M. 10335, ro. 7. I cannot read the horizontal sign over pr-f. The parallel in Turin Journal of Year 17, B ro. 4. 2, preserves only the b and the f.

Is it possible that the words refer not to Amūn but to the slave, and mean 'he has no house' or 'his house is not known'? In any case the omission of the indefinite article wr before šwi is curious.

13. 4. 13. šr. Cf. 10052, 2. 27, and Amh., 4. 3. Also BURCHARDT, *Altkan. Fremdworte*, Nos. 831 and 864, who compares שַׁר. Perhaps 'entrance lodge' or similar.

14. 5. 6. I cannot guess what the sw in front of the line means.

15. 5. 9. This person, as the parallel list in Turin Journal Year 17, B ro. 5. 5, shows, is the same as the Zati Teker of our ro. 7. 4.

16. 5. 10. mh-bk. Cf. Turin Journal Year 17, B ro. 3. 4; 5. 6; and A vs. 4. 4.

17. 5. 15. In front of the line stands the determinative of the eye and eyebrow, probably as an abbreviation for ptr, 'seen', or similar.

18. 6. 1. rpt is used in the New Kingdom for 'crown prince', and all that is really in doubt here is the relation to one another of the two titles 'royal scribe' and 'crown-prince'. The possible renderings are:

'The royal scribe of Hui the crown-prince.'

'Hui, the royal scribe and crown-prince.'

To the first the epithet 'royal' is perhaps not a fatal objection, since a scribe attached to the crown-prince might well have been styled 'royal scribe'. To the second might be objected that it was not usual for the crown-prince to bear the title of scribe.

18. 7. 4. Cf. note 15. This name also puzzled the scribe of the parallel Turin Journal of Year 17, B ro. 5. 5 and 6. 10.

19. 7. 12. thth is clearly a reduplication of the root th which occurs in

Anast. ii, 7. 4 as an oun (or participle), where the translation Der Hinkende, 'the cripple', proposed tentatively by Erman (*Literatur*, p. 250), certainly suits the context. Can this be the meaning here?

20. 7. 14. The parallel in the Turin Journal of Year 17, A vs. 7. 1-4, shows that a haplography has occurred here, the word *pr*, 'temple', having been omitted after the determinative of *hni*. *t3 rwt hni* is good Late Eg. for 'inside'. Cf. *t3 w3t hnw*.

GROUP IV

UNDER this group I have coupled the two documents B.M. 10053 verso and Pap. B.M. 10383, formerly known as the Van Burgh Papyrus. These deal with robberies not from tombs but from other sacred places, and as such are of a different nature from the other documents here treated, with the exception of the text 10054, ro. 3.7 to 17, with which they have much in common.

The two texts do not deal with the same series of events, and consequently no good purpose would be served by attempting any common discussion of them. They will therefore be treated quite separately.

PAPYRUS B.M. 10053 verso

DESCRIPTION AND CONTENTS

The recto of this papyrus bears a text for many years known as Papyrus Harris A and described above. The verso is an equally interesting document, though of much less attractive appearance (Pl. XXXIX). The writing is upside down to that of the recto, with the result that the damage has here affected the tops of the pages, and, by removing the opening lines in each case, has made the connexion of the whole very obscure. On the right there is a page left blank. Then follow five pages of writing which take us to the extreme left-hand edge of the sheet. Page 1, however, is a short page and does not nearly reach the bottom of the sheet; page 2 is longer, but again does not reach the bottom; pages 3 and 4 are full pages, but page 5 is even shorter than page 1. The script is inclined to be rough, especially in page 1, which, though probably by the same scribe as the rest, can hardly have been written at the same time. The forms are ungraceful and occasionally very cursive, and the hand is not that of any other of the documents of this series.

Of the first lines of each page only fragments remain, but Miss Harris's tracing of the text of the recto while it was still intact enables the fragments to be placed in their correct positions on the verso side. As now mounted they are very nearly rightly placed, with the exception of Fragment E, which is to be placed

rather lower and to the left (see above, p. 103; also text of recto 2. 19 and vs. 1. 4-5).

The meaning of the first page is exceedingly difficult to fix owing to the loss of the opening lines and to one or two uncertainties of reading. It would seem that the scribe of the temple Sedi and the priests had been stealing from somewhere on the West of Thebes. Some one whose name is lost then makes a written record of what he (Sedi?) had stolen 'in every inspection of his', and it is found to be 389 *deben* of gold and silver. But then follow immediately the puzzling words 'which the priest Amenkhau was found to have stolen'. Possibly Amenkhau carried out the thefts and Sedi, the scribe who would have been responsible for discovering the thefts, condoned them at a price. The trial is stated to have been held in Thebes by the high-priest of Amūn.

Page 2 begins with a date, Year 9, second month of inundation, day 23 (or 25 or 26). Despite the occurrence of a fresh date here, there is no reason to suppose that what follows is not connected with the trial mentioned in the preceding lines. In fact it is clear from the continuous references to the scribe of the temple Sedi that this is the evidence given at that very trial. Page 1 may have borne a date a day or two earlier. In 2. 1 we have apparently the evidence either of oneamūn son of Peikharu or of some thief who accompanied him. The damaged name is probably to be restored Nesamūn (cf. 3. 10, 18), and in fact among the list of householders in 10068 vs. a *wēb*-priest Nesamūn son of Peikharu appears (vs. 2. 19) who may be this very man. Line 2 suggests that the theft which he confesses concerned the temple of Ramesses II. The third person singular of 5-9 clearly refers to the father of the young priest Nebnūfer of line 6. Now in the Turin inheritance papyrus 2021, which dates from late in the Twentieth Dynasty (*J. E. A.*, xiii, p. 32), there is a *wēb*-priest Nebnūfer son of the divine father Amenkhau. Seeing that a *wēb*-priest Amenkhau is the villain of our piece (vs. 1. 11), it is quite likely that this is the man to whom the third person in these lines refers.

In page 3, lines 1-5, another man, whose name is lost, gives evidence which, so far as it survives, agrees with this.

The name of the next witness, the priest and gardener Ker, is preserved, and his evidence, which is perhaps complete, is given in great detail.

What are the buildings from which these thefts took place?

That they lay on the West of Thebes is clear from 1.8, despite the loss of the preceding line, and also from the interference of the prince of the West in 3.21, for his duties did not extend to the east bank. In 2.2 we may perhaps restore '[the temple of] Usimarēr Setpenrēr,' i.e. the Ramesseum, and the thefts confessed in 2.1 to 2.6 will have taken place there. At the end of 2.6, however, a fresh series of depredations begins, for the speaker states that he was taken into the temple of Usimarēr Miamūn, i.e. the Medīnat Habu temple, by some one else and made to strip gold off a litter belonging to King Dhutmōse I, which, judging by 2.8-9, lay in or near the treasury of the temple. The story now moves to the 'House of Gold' of Ramesses II. This should be identifiable. In the papyrus plan in Turin of the tomb of Ramesses IV, the House of Gold, *pr nb* (also *pr n nb*), is the name given to the sarcophagus-chamber,* perhaps because of its yellow colour, and this at first gives the impression that the thefts were from the tomb of Ramesses II. But after all there is no reason why a House of Gold should be confined to funerary architecture, and, what is more, one of the doorways from which gold was stripped is said to be of stone of Elephantine, and as it is hardly to be doubted that all this group of thefts was from one and the same building, we may rule out the tomb of Ramesses II, which contained no doorways of granite. Surely the building in question must be the Ramesseum, where there are three striking doorways of black granite leading from the inner court to the hypostyle hall. This is confirmed by the fact that in 3.21 one of the thieves describes the doorway simply as 'the door of the temple'. Thus there seems no alternative to the belief that at the time when this papyrus was written the Ramesseum was being plundered by the priests.

The remains of pages 4 and 5 deal with thefts of valuable wood, mainly from doors and other objects connected with Ramesses II, some, if not all, of which lay in his temple. For further details of these see the notes on the text.

The papyrus is dated in Year 9. But to what reign is this to be attributed? Since the text is on the verso of a text dated Year 17 of Ramesses IX Neferkerēr it may be regarded as almost certain that, 9 being less than 17, it belongs to a later reign. The leaving of a blank space at the right-hand end of the verso confirms the belief that the recto was, as usual, filled first, for such a space

* *J. E. A.*, iv, p. 139, Pl. XXIX.

might reasonably be left by the scribe of a verso text to form an uninscribed outside to the papyrus when rolled up. Had the recto been uninscribed when the verso was written such a blank would have been unnecessary, for it would have sufficed to roll the papyrus with the blank recto outside.

This papyrus is certainly one of those described in Ambras as having been found in the second of the two vases in Year 6 of the *whm mswt*. Ambras, however, while describing the recto (2. 10) makes no mention of the text on the verso, and this text was consequently in all probability added after the re-discovery of the rolls. Consequently we cannot date the verso text earlier than Year 9 of the *whm mswt*,*—if indeed there ever was such a year, 6 being the highest as yet proved by documentary evidence. If not, the year 9 must belong to a subsequent reign or period.

The rather scanty prosopographical evidence of the papyrus on the whole confirms such a date. Thus the scribe of the army *Ḳashuti* (vs. 4. 10) is never mentioned in the *Neferkerēr* group of texts, but occurs in Mayer A and 10383 (early *whm mswt*), in the grain distribution text of 10054 (vs. 2. 1), dated Year 6 and almost certainly later than *Neferkerēr*, in the house list of 10068 (vs. 3. 5), and in Pap. Turin, P. R. 61, a text fixed late in the dynasty by its mention of the scribe of the Necropolis *Dhutmōse* and the vizier *Wennefer*. The temple scribe *Sedi*, who can surely not have survived, at least as a free man, the charges here made against him, is in 10054, vs. 2. 35 (grain distribution) responsible for the temple of *Ramesses II*. This fact alone would prove the priority of the latter text, whose Year 6, from the position of the text on the roll, must be of a later reign than that of *Neferkerēr* (see p. 59).

The scribe of the royal records *Setekhmōse*, who here appears as a delinquent, occurs in the temple-robbery text of 10054 (ro. 3. 15) which is dated Year 18, probably of *Neferkerēr*. As this man, too, must surely have come to grief in consequence of the disclosures of 10053 vs. (we may indeed wonder that he survived the revelations of 10054), we may see in this a confirmation of the relative dates which we have proposed for the two texts concerned. The possibility of identifying the *wēb*-priest *Amenkhau* with the divine father of the same name, father of *Nebnūfer*, in the very late Twentieth Dynasty papyrus Turin 2021 has already been mentioned (p. 113).

* See above p. 3, n. 1, and p. 7.

Several of the persons mentioned in our text might possibly be identified with householders in 10068 vs., e.g. the scribe of the army Oner (10068, vs. 3. 22, *sš* simply) and the young priest Paherer (10053, vs. 2. 17, 3. 4) who might be the Paiheri of 10068, vs. 7. 3.

These are uncertain, but there is one group of names the occurrence of which in both papyri can hardly be explained as a coincidence. In 10068, vs. 2. 17-19 we have three presumably adjacent houses occupied by three sons of one Peikharu named Peison, Hori, and Nesamūn respectively, all of whom are *wēb*-priests. Now among the accused in our present text are three *wēb*-priests bearing these names. One, Hori, is definitely stated to be the son of Peikharu (3. 10); a second, Nesamūn, is also, if my restoration of 2. 1 be correct, a son of this man, while Peison's parentage is not given. A *wēb*-priest called Ker (3. 6) also lives (10068, vs. 2. 23) but four doors away from this group. If all this is a mere coincidence it is a remarkable one: in any case the identification of Hori son of Peikharu seems almost certain, and if this alone is true there follows a corollary.* Either our text on the verso of 10053 is later than the house list of 10068 vs., which we have every reason to suppose is itself later than the reign of Neferkerēr (see pp. 85-7), or Hori, and perhaps others, survived the charges here brought against them in Year 9 and were still in a position to be householders in Year 12 of the same or a still later reign or epoch.

TRANSLATION (Plates XIX-XXI)

Page 1 (Pl. XIX)

(1) . . . (2) . . . Peinhesi . . . (3) . . . Amūn. (4) . . . [khon]su . . . (5) . . . (6) . . . (7) . . . (8) West of Nō. It was found that the scribe of the temple Sedi and the priests (9) of the temple had committed damage (?).¹ He wrote down² every theft which he had committed in every inspection (10) of his. It was found to be 300 *deben* of silver and 89 *deben* of good gold in the form of casing (?):³ (total) (11) gold and silver 389 *deben*, which it was found that the priest Amenkhau (12) son of Bekptah had stolen, which was investigated⁴ in Nō by (13) the chief priest of Amūn, and for the recovery⁵ of which measures were taken.

(Half a page blank below)

* A name common to the two texts about which there can be no possible doubt is that of the 'prophet Sem of the temple of Amenhotpe' who occurs 10053, vs. 4. 19 and 10068, vs. 2. 6.

Page 2 (Pl. xx)

(1) Year 9, second month of the inundation season, day 23 (or 25 or 26) . . . [Nes?]amūn son of Pekharu . . . (2) . . . Usimarēr Setpenrēr . . . (about three lines lost here). . . (3) . . . the four covers (?)⁶ . . . (4) . . . I removed it; (5) [I] melted it down, I ground (?) . . . I . . . and I handed it over to him and to (6) the young priest Nebnūfer his son. Now when I (?) . . . worked the gold and handed it over to him he took <me> (7) with him inside the temple of Usimarēr Miamūn at the time of mid-day. He brought the carrier of *keti*-wood belonging to King Okheperēr. (8) He laid it before me. He made <me> remove its gold which [was] on it (?)⁷. He took it from me and he turned me round (?) and cast <me> out of the door of (9) the chamber which leads to (?)⁸ the treasury. It was he who worked it together with (?) the goldsmith Amenkhau son of Beksheri (?), and he did not give me a *kite* of it. His deposition was heard. They said to him, Tell us all the gold which you stripped (10) belonging to the House of Gold of King Usimarēr Setpenrēr, the great god, and also⁹ every man who was with you and who went to strip the gold of the door-jambs¹⁰ (11) of the House of Gold of King Usimarēr Setpenrēr, the great god. He said, I went to the door-jambs of the House of Gold along with my confederates. (12) <We> brought away 2 *deben* of gold from them and we divided it among us. We went again to the northern door of Sedet-iadet¹¹ and we removed 2 *deben* of gold from it. (13) I divided it between myself and my confederates. Now after some days I went with them again and we brought out the sedan-chair which goes up into the Secret Place.¹² (14) We removed the gold which was on it and melted it down, and I found one *deben* of gold in it. I divided it between myself and my confederates in the same way as the rest. (15) They said to him, What have you to say about the copper which you brought away belonging to the fastening¹³ of the upper door of the gateway of stone of Elephantine. He said, The attendants of the <overseer of> cattle came . . . us.¹⁴ We went (16) to the door and we brought away 40½ *deben* of copper from it. Now as we stood dividing them the attendant Nekhtamenwēse came and took 7 *deben* of copper, and the foreigner (17) Ptahkhau came and took away 3 *deben* of copper, and the young priest Paherer took ½ a <*deben*> of copper. There remained to us 30 *deben* of copper and we divided them. (18) He took an oath saying, All that I have said is true: if I go back on my word hereafter may I be sent to the battalion of Ethiopia.

Page 3 (Pls. xx-xxi)

(Two or three lines lost)

(1) We made . . . I went . . . (2) from it. We divided it between us. And we went to it again and brought away . . . of copper . . . (3) Now after some days we went to the door of the gateway of stone of Elephantine

and brought away the $40\frac{1}{2}$. . . and we put them <in> our . . . s¹⁵ (4) The attendant Nekhtamenwēse took 7 *deben* of copper, the foreigner Ptahkhau took 3 *deben* of copper and the young priest Paherer $\frac{1}{2}$ a *deben* of copper. There remained to us 30 *deben* of copper. (5) He took an oath by the Ruler, If all that I say is not true may I be placed on the stake.

(6) The interrogatory of the priest and gardener Ker of the temple. His deposition was heard. They said to him, Tell the story of your going and stripping this gold of the door-jambs together with your confederates.

(7) He said, The scribe of the temple Sedi went along with the priest and goldsmith Tuti to the door-jambs. They stripped 1 *deben* $3\frac{1}{2}$ *kite* of gold off them. He took them to the troop captain Peminu. (8) We went again to the door-jambs and we brought away 3 *kite* of gold: we were with the scribe of the temple Sedi and the priest Tuti and the priest Peison, total 4.

(9) We went again to the door-jambs along with the scribe of the temple Sedi and the priest Nesamūn. We brought away 5 *kite* of gold and divided <it>.

(10) We went yet again to the door-jambs along with the priest Hori son of Pekharu and the scribe of the temple Sedi and the priest Nesamūn to the door-jambs again (*sic*), and we brought away 5 *kite* of gold.

(11) We bought corn with it in Thebes and divided it up. Now after some days the scribe of the temple Sedi came again bringing the three men who were with him and they went to the door-jambs again.

(12) They brought away 4 *kite* of gold and we divided it between ourselves and him. Now after some days Peminu our superior quarrelled with us saying, You have given me nothing. So we went again (13) to the door-jambs and brought 5 *kite* of gold from them and gave them in exchange for an ox and gave it to Peminu.

But the scribe of the royal records Setekhmōse had heard his voice, and he threatened¹⁶ us (14) saying, I am going to report it to the chief priest of Amūn. So we brought 3 *kite* of gold and gave them to the scribe of the royal records Setekhmōse.

And on a later occasion we went again and gave him $1\frac{1}{2}$ *kite* of gold. Total of gold given to the scribe of the royal records Setekhmōse $4\frac{1}{2}$ *kite* of gold.

(16) Now after some days the priest Hori and the priest Tuti went by night and entered the House of Gold and stripped off a piece of gold <from> the door-jambs. But we seized them and handed them over to the scribe Sedi.

(17) He took them (*sic*) and had it melted down, and he gave it to Peminu. (18) He said, The priest Tuti and the priest Nesamūn went to the Doors of Heaven,¹⁷ and they set fire to it and removed its gold and stole it along with the scribe Sedi.

(19) He said, we went again to the door-jambs, the three of us together, and stripped off 3 *kite* of gold and divided it among the three of us. (20) Now after some days the scribe Sedi went to the door-jambs with the goldsmith Tuti and they brought away 3 *kite* of gold and stole it.

(21) He said, we went to the door-jambs of the door of the temple.

But the Prince of the West of Nō heard of it and sent men and they found it, . . . ing . . . a *kb*-vase; and he put it in a *wmr*-vase, (22) and <placed?> the seal of¹⁸ the scribe of the royal records Setekhmōse upon it and took it away. But the other gold remained stripped in our possession. We brought it away. We melted down what was in our possession and found 3 *deben* 3 *kite* of gold.

Page 4 (Pl. XXI)

(1) . . . divided it among us . . . divided the rest among us. . . (2) . . . (3) . . . we went . . . (4) . . . among all of us . . . (5) The priest Peison was [brought]. His deposition was heard. [They said] to him, What have you to say about the charges which . . . makes . . . (6) He took an oath by the Ruler saying, <If> all that I have said is not true may I be sent to the battalion [of Ethiopia].

(7) Charge concerning the three boards¹⁹ of cedar which the scribe Sedi gave to the scribe Thel[nefer], which belonged to the 'Floor of Silver'²⁰ of King (8) Usimarēr Setpenrēr, the great god.

(9) Charge concerning the great door of cedar of the chamber²¹ of King Usimarēr Setpenrēr, the great god, which he gave to the scribe Thelnefer: (10) the scribe of the army Kāshuti took it.

(11) Charge concerning the shrine of Nefertum²² which the carpenter Peson cut up: he gave 5 boards of cedar to the troop captain Peminu.

(12) Charge concerning the door-frame of the House of the Divine Ennead which the carpenter Peson and the carpenter Nesamūn cut up; and they made it into 4 boards (13) and he gave them to the troop captain Peminu.

(14) Charge concerning the door of the Mut-shrine²³ of cedar which the scribe Sedi stole and gave to the troop captain Peminu.

(15) Charge concerning the 4 boards of cedar belonging to the 'Floor of Silver' of King Usimarēr Setpenrēr, the great god, which the scribe Sedi gave to the citizeness (16) Teherer, the wife of the divine father Hori; he gave them to the carpenter Ahauty of the funerary chapel of Hui, (17) and he made them into an inner coffin for her.

(18) Charge concerning the Great Seat²⁴ of *keti*-wood (?) which lay in the temple of Usimarēr Setpenrēr in his 'Two Places of Accuracy (?)', which the scribe Sedi gave (19) to the prophet Sem of the temple of Amenhotpe of the Court.

(20) Charge concerning the 3 pieces of *mry*-wood of the great statue of the court of the temple which the scribe Sedi gave to the scribe of the army Oner of the temple of Amūn. (21) It was the carpenter Peson who cut it up. Then the scribe of the army Oner sent to him again saying, Send me a shrine (22) of cedar. And the scribe Sedi gave him a shrine which measured two cubits in height.

(23) Charge concerning the Great Seat of *keti*-wood which lay in the Place of the Foundation (?) which the three carpenters of this temple and the goldsmith Tu(t)i stole.

Page 5 (Pl. XXI)

(1) . . . place . . . (2) . . . (3) . . . (4) . . .

(5) Charge concerning [the shri]ne of cedar, the *ššm* and the wood which the scribe of the royal records Setekhmōse stole. He sold it in Thebes and received its price.

(The rest of the page is blank)

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

1. 1. 9. *ik* is possibly a writing of the noun *ik*, see Berlin *Wb.*, i. 21. Good sense would be got by taking the preceding *gmi* in line 8 as passive participle and not passive *šdmf*, 'which it was found that the scribe and priests had damaged', but this would certainly require *im-w* (preposition *m* and resumptive pronoun) after *ik*.

2. 1. 9. Is this the same curious dative after *šs* which occurs in Abbott, 6. 11-12 and 10068, ro. 6. 21?

3. 1. 10. The signs which follow *nb* 'gold' are very uncertain. The reading *nšwt ipst*, 'the royal harim,' seems improbable in the context and involves a very unusual writing of *ipst*. The reading *nb nfr m ipt* suggests the use of *m ipt* quoted in the Berlin *Wb.*, i. 67, but the plural strokes after *ipt* are missing and the sense 'in measures' or similar would not suit here, for the weight in *deben* follows.

In 10403, 1. 5 *ipt* seems to mean 'fittings' or possibly 'metal covering'. The same may just be the meaning here, 'good gold in the form of casing'. The sequel shows that some at least of the stolen gold was in this form.

4. 1. 12. Since *i-iri* is a passive participle and not passive *šdmf* we expect *p-i-f smtr* not *p-i smtr*, at any rate if the participle refers to Amenkhau. It may, however, refer in rather loose syntax to the metal, and indeed this is perhaps borne out by the suffix *-f* of *šd-f* in line 13, which, from the sense, can only refer to the metal, and by the construction of 10383, 1. 1.

5. 1. 13. The syntax of *wih r r šd-f* is not clear to me, unless *wih* be a passive participle agreeing with *hd* and *nb*, and continuing the series of such participles *gmi* and *i-iri* 'Which was placed (in) a state of being recovered'. i. e. 'for the recovery of which proceedings were begun'. For *r r šd* cf. 10068, vs. 1. 25, Pap. Turin 1903/180, vs. 2. 27 (unpublished).

6. 2. 3 *inh* must be a feminine noun formed from *inh* 'to surround'. Perhaps the precious metal casing of some object.

7. 2. 8. Restore *i-un hr-f*, in view of the vertical stroke, though *im-f* is usual in such cases, e. g. 2. 14.

8. 2. 9. For *h-r r* cf. Turin Goldmine Map, Frag. A, 4 and other unpublished fragments (collated). For *drwt* cf. below 4. 9 and note.

9. 2. 10. For *hr mdi* see Berlin *Wb.*, ii. 177 and Abbott, 5. 7-8.

10. 2. 10. *htri*. See Pap. Harris *passim*. It is clear from Harris, 45. 4 and 58. 6 and 10 that *htri* are the side posts of a door, not the two doors themselves (*battants*) as suggested by Chabas (PIEHL, *Dict. du Pap. Harris No. 1*, p. 68). The word also occurs in the unpublished continuation of Pap. Turin, P. R. 61, col. ii, line 1, though whether in quite the same sense is not certain.

11. 2. 12. *sdt i:dt* must be the same phrase with which one of the ceremonies of the daily temple ritual is described, see Ritual of Amūn, Pap. Berlin 3055, 3. 3-4, and Blackman's note on this in *Journ. Manchester Eg. and Oriental Soc.*, 1918-19, p. 39.

12. 2. 13. Cf. Pap. Bulaq 10, vs. 5, 10 and 13. Also SPIEGELBERG, *Stud. u. Mat.*, p. 29, ll. 3 and 5 of text quoted, and p. 34, ll. 6 and 7 of text quoted.

13. 2. 15. *p: kri*. Presumably connected with *krt* a bolt, which, however, is feminine.

14. 2. 15. I cannot transcribe this group with certainty. *kr* (*kī*) is not very probable since its construction is (*r*) *kr n* (see Turin Judic. Pap., 4. 12, Wenamen, 1. 22; without *r*, B.M. 10052, 8. 12, 13. 26). *tttt* 'to quarrel' can be cursively written with a group very like this, but it needs at least one determinative and is followed by *irm*, 'with' so and so.

15. 3. 3. *snh*... (?). Possibly, if the reading is right, connected with *snh* to bind. Perhaps 'girdles' or similar.

16. 3. 13. This may be right as it stands, though the sense is weak, but it is tempting to suppose haplography of the words *iwf tttt irm-n*. 'Setekhmōse had heard his voice as he threatened us, <and he (Setekhmōse) threatened us> saying, I am going to report it. . . '

17. 3. 18. The application of the name Doors of Heaven to the doors of a shrine or a building is not unusual, cf. Pap. Harris, 8. 8, Pap. Berlin 3055 (Ritual of Amūn), 4. 3. Here, however, the name seems to be applied not merely to the doors, but to the whole of some structure made of wood, the compound phrase being treated grammatically as a masculine singular noun.

18. 3. 21-2. This passage is rendered difficult by a correction, by uncertainties of reading, and by unknown words, and above all by the obscurity of reference of the various suffixes -*f*. After *iwtw gm-f*, 'they found it', i.e. either the stripped gold or the fact of its having been stripped, comes *iw* with a second *w* (just possibly an *f*) through which runs the *ε* of *wε*. It seems impossible to make correct syntax out of *iw wε cmcm wε kb* ('as one of them was . . . ing a *kb*-vase' is not very convincing). Possibly the scribe, after writing *iw wε*, found he had made a mistake and altered it to *iw-f* without, however, erasing the incorrect *wε*. We should then have *iw-f cmcm wε kb* 'he . . . ed a *kb*-vase'. *cmcm*—the reading seems clear—

must be the word which occurs in Westcar 7. 16, the meaning of which is there quite uncertain. The present passage hardly helps, especially as *w:nr* appears to be unknown. At the beginning of line 22 *ht* is almost certain from its determinatives, though the knife is oddly made. The preceding group may well be *t*, but there is certainly not room between this and *tw-f* for the expected *dit* 'placed'. The sign after *ht* is more like *r* than *n*, and, what is worse, 'to put a seal on it' is *dit ht hr-f*, not, as here, *rf* (Pap. Anast. i, 6. 6, &c.). Can the group read *ht* conceal after all a verb such as 'to be angry with'? This would suit *rf* admirably, 'He spoke sharply to the scribe Sedi about it.'

19. 4. 7. The reading *st:t* is quite certain, the sign being perfectly distinct from both *šd* and *wt* (4. 17). It must mean a 'plank' or 'board' of rectangular shape. The *st:t* of *Urk.* iv. 53, 426 is perhaps the same, 'cast in one piece', though Sethe translates 'cast from one mould' (*Urk.* iv. 53 Übersetzung).

20. 4. 7. For the 'Floor of Silver' cf. NAVILLE, *Inscr. hist. de Pinodjem*, iii (Paris, 1883), ll. 1-3 and 12 of the upper inscription. Also *J. E. A.*, v, p. 122. I owe the references to Dr. Blackman.

21. 4. 9. *drwt*. See GARDINER, *Admonitions*, p. 28, and my note on Amherst, 2. 2. *drwt* here is clearly a writing of *drit* 'chamber' and not of the old *drwt* 'sarcophagus'.

22. 4. 11. Here as in 10054, 10. 3. 7, 9, 14 the reading Nefertum seems irrefutable.

23. 4. 14. The reading of the ligatured group is quite uncertain. The upper sign might be *d*, *r*, *t* or *t* and the lower *r* or *n*. Since the word is feminine *itrt* is attractive, despite the lack of the ending *t*, and the length of the *t* on top. *itnt*, Berlin *Wb.*, i. 151, is another possibility.

24. 4. 18. The 'Great Seat' is not necessarily a throne, for see Pap. Harris, 45. 7, where it has a door: also *Urk.* iv. 421. 10, 422. 17, 425. 9, 427. 15.

PAPYRUS B.M. 10383

DESCRIPTION AND CONTENTS

The British Museum papyrus numbered 10383 was presented to the museum* by Mrs. de Burgh in 1856, apparently without any record of its earlier history. It was published in an incorrect and incomplete copy in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, xxviii, pp. 178 ff. It measures 85 cm. in length and 19 in height. It is complete at the top, but torn at the bottom: there is a good margin at either end. It is inscribed on the recto

* It is referred to by Hawkins in 1859 in *Select Papyri*, Part II, p. 7. See my note 1 on the text.

(H/V) only, in a neat rather small hand, not unlike that of 10403, but not necessarily identical with it. Page 3 was written with a coarser pen than the rest.

There are three pages. That on the right shows a line actually mutilated by the tearing away of the papyrus at the bottom: it is quite probable that the roll was originally of the height usual for official documents at this period, namely about 43 cm. In this case at least half is lost.

Page 1 is headed 'Year 2, fourth month of summer, day 25. Day of investigation concerning the gold and silver which were stolen from the temple of Usimarē Miamün,' i.e. the temple of Medīnat Habu. The thefts had been reported to Pharaoh by the prophet Amenmōse of the temple concerned, and Pharaoh thereupon ordered the vizier Nebmarēnakht and two other officials, Menmarēnakht and Yens to hold an inquiry. Page 1 contains the evidence given by the scribe of the army Ḳashuti with regard to one specific charge, namely the stealing of silver from a vase-stand (if this be the right translation): this particular theft is, a little inconsistently with what was stated in the preamble, said to have been reported to Pharaoh by the prophet Peiseni of the temple.

The Year 2 in which the papyrus is dated may with considerable probability be attributed to the *whm mswt* or Renaissance,* for the three officials to whom the trial is entrusted are among the four of Mayer A and B.M. 10052, which are dated in Years 1 and 2 of that epoch, namely, the vizier Nebmarēnakht, the overseer of the treasury Menmarēnakht, and the royal butler Yens. The scribe of the army Ḳashuti is mentioned in Mayer A, 6. 10; 10053, vs. 4. 10; 10054, vs. 2. 1; 10068, vs. 1. 9, 21, 23 and 3. 5; also in Pap. Turin, P. R. 61. 8, a document almost certainly to be attributed on internal evidence to Years 17-18 of Menmarē Ramesses XI.

Of the other persons mentioned on this page a *sem*-priest Hori occurs in 10053, 10. 2. 10†; the guard Pewerō of 1. 9 cannot be identified with the Pewerō of Mayer A, 3. 7, 13 C. 8; 10052, 2. 11, 3. 11, 13. 15-16 and 21, Abbott Dockets 8 B. 1, who bears the title *hꜣi* not *sw*, though the two titles are apt to be confused, and

* The papyrus would thus be nine days later than 10403.

† Thus, if this be the same man, he was already a *sem*-priest in Year 17 of Neferkerēf. What Pharaoh did (10383, 1. 10) was presumably to make him *sem*-priest in the temple of Medīnat Habu, doubtless a more important appointment than that which he held under Neferkerēf.

indeed probably are in Mayer A, 13 C. 8. The scribe of the treasury Setekhmōse of 1. 6 occurs in the house list of 10068, vs. 3. 1.

This prosopographical evidence would agree perfectly with the attribution of the papyrus to Year 2 in the Renaissance, though it would in no way conflict with its assignment to an even later epoch or reign.

Page 2 consists of five lines, and between 1 and 2, 2 and 3, 3 and 4 are left spaces of about two lines in height, which were certainly intended to be filled in later. Line 1 runs 'He told the story of this 1100 *deben* of copper which was brought away from this door of Setua', and the other four lines are similar in form. Owing to the loss of some lines at the bottom of page 1 it is impossible to tell who the witness is. Perhaps it is still K̄ashuti.

The last line of this page is of great importance, for we have a reference to Pnehesi, doubtless the same who in B.M. 10052, 10. 18 is said to have destroyed Hartai, and who killed three of the thieves of Mayer A (13 B. 3). This man is now stated to have suppressed (*thi*) the superior of Peison, a guard of the 'House of Pharaoh', in consequence of which Peison left his employ. For this Pnehesi, who must have been a highly disturbing factor in Egyptian politics at this time, see *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, xii, pp. 257-8; xiv, pp. 67-8.

With the first line of page 3 we find ourselves on quite new ground, for the text is part of the account of a dispute as to the ownership of a piece of wood for a ship's fittings. Unfortunately, owing to the loss of lines at the end of page 2, we cannot determine the connexion of this story with the rest of the papyrus. Perhaps it has none.

TRANSLATION (Plate XXII)

Page 1 (Pl. XXII)

(1)¹ Year 2, fourth month of summer, day 25. Day of the investigation concerning the gold and silver which were stolen from the temple of Usimarē Miamūn in the House of Amūn (2) which the prophet Amenmōse son of Ta of the temple reported to Pharaoh, and Pharaoh gave instructions to the prefect of Thebes and Vizier Nebmarēnakht, (3) to the overseer of the treasury of Pharaoh overseer of the granary royal butler Menmarēnakht, and to the steward and royal butler Yens to investigate them.²

(4) There was brought the scribe of the army K̄ashuti of the temple, and the matter of this vase-stand³ of 86 *deben* of silver which had been stolen was inquired into, (5) which the prophet Peiseni of the temple reported to

Pharaoh. He said I did not see what happened to it, How should I? ⁴ Hear the story (?). He said, (6) It was the scribe of the treasury Setekhmōse, who was overseer of lands, who came and took this vase-stand to the room of the Vizier ⁵ which is in the temple. (7) He cut off . . . ⁶ *deben* from it and took them away. Now the divine fathers, and *wēb*-priests and lector-priests of the temple next came (8) and they took this vase-stand away again and they cut off . . . *deben* of silver from it, total 5 *deben*, remainder 36 *deben* of silver. It was (9) entrusted to the guard Pewerro and this vase-stand was brought up to weight ⁷ and inscribed with the name of Pharaoh. (10) It was put in its place again. Now when Pharaoh our Lord came to Nō he made the *sem*-priest Hori *sem*-priest of the temple. He (Hori) (11) came to the temple and [had] this vase-stand brought . . . 26 (or 36) and appropriated it.

(Traces of one more line. The rest is lost)

Page 2 (Pl. xxii)

- (1) He told the story of this 1100 *deben* of copper which was brought from this door of Setua (?) ⁸
- (2) He told the story of this 150 *deben* of copper belonging to the door of this . . . ⁹
- (3) He told the story of this 222 *deben* of copper belonging to the door of the *spti-r* ¹⁰ of the treasury.
- (4) He told the story of this 1200 *deben* of copper belonging to the doors of the House of Pharaoh. The *wēb*-priest Peison was brought, who was guard of the House of Pharaoh. (5) He said, I left the House of Pharaoh when Pnehesi came and suppressed my superior, though there was no fault in him.

(The rest is lost)

Page 3 (Pl. xxii)

- (1) . . . these two yard-arms (?) in their place. A merchant came and recognized ¹¹ the mast (2) but the prince refused to give it to him. So he went and reported it to Thuithui (3) who was in Thebes with Pharaoh. And Thuithui sent saying, Give up the mast (4) to my merchant. But the prince refused to give it up without the consent of Pharaoh his Lord. (5) Then Thuithui told the affair of this mast to Pharaoh, and Pharaoh sent a chief fan-bearer (6) saying, Give this mast to this merchant of Thuithui. And the prince said, I will give it. (7) And behold it is lying in the possession of this merchant of Thuithui behind ¹² (?) this fortification-wall of the temple this day.

(The rest is lost)

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

1. 1. 1. Above the centre of line 1 stands the numeral 13. Is this the number borne by this particular document in some collection of rolls in the archives?

2. 1. 3. *pꜣt-w smtr*. The third plural ending *w* refers to *nb* and *hꜣ* in line 1. For *smtr* in the sense of 'to investigate things' cf. Ambras, 2. 7-8.

3. 1. 4 *hꜣwti gnn*. These two words, being both determined by the vase, must be both nouns, and consequently the second must be in a genitive relation to the first. A vase *hꜣwti*, as written here, seems not to be known, though there is a word *hꜣw*, which means a straight-sided water basin (Berlin *Wb.*, iii. 225), in addition to the well-known *hꜣwt* (Berlin *Wb.*, iii. 226), a flat dish attached to tall foot, used to bear vases or other objects. *gnn* is also unknown, but there is a vase *gn*. BRUGSCH, *Wb.*, *Suppl.* 1299 quotes Amada Stela, 14, where it is determined by the tall vase-stand thrice written, and associated with *hꜣw* 'basins' and *ꜥhw* 'stoves'. In Pap. Harris, 49. 8 we find among a list of vases *hꜣwt hr gnw* which must mean '*hꜣwt* bearing *gn*-vases'. Here it looks as if *hꜣwt* were the stands and *gnw* the vases supported by them, and it is not easy to dissociate from this our *hꜣwti gnn*, despite the doubled *n* and the masculine gender of the compound, shown by the demonstrative *pꜣt*. We may tentatively render 'vase-stand'.

The group transliterated *wi* might also, as nearly always in this period, stand for *sp sn*, which would give a word *hꜣhꜣ* or *hh*. No vase of this name seems to be known.

4. 1. 5 *ꜥrytwꜣ ih*. For this expression cf. 10052, 4. 17, Mayer A, 3. 26-4. 1, 6. 15-16, and 9. 2, 4. I can make no suggestion as to its origin. It seems to be almost interjectional in character and to express an indignant denial. It is not, however, wholly independent of the structure of the sentence. Thus in Mayer A, 4. 1 it seems to be followed by an infinitive *šm*: 'go with him forsooth! He never went'. Similarly in Mayer A, 6. 15-16, where the suffix pronoun *-w* of *ptr-w* clearly betrays the infinitive and rules out the possibility of *šdmꜣf*. In the present passage the phrase is followed by *šdm sw*, *šdm* being quite clearly written without any personal suffix: this is perhaps not paralleled by Mayer A, 3. 26 *ptr sw*, where *ptr* may be merely an interjection, 'Behold, he was with', &c., and *ꜥrytwꜣ ih* is to be taken with what precedes. Now *šdm* cannot be infinitive, for it would then have an object suffix; it must therefore be either *šdmꜣf* with omitted suffix of the first person or imperative. The latter seems to suit the context better, if we may take *ꜥrytwꜣ ih* with what precedes (it is clear from Mayer A, 9. 2 and 9. 4 that it may qualify either what precedes or what follows), 'I did not see what happened to it, how should I indeed? Hear it' (i.e. the story). He does not deny knowledge of what had happened, but denies that he saw it happening.

5. 1. 6. Or, of course, *Tt*, a personal name. In this case *rt* may well mean a house.

6. 1. 7. The numeral has been left vacant both here and in line 8, though line 8 does give the total of the two.

7. 1. 9. *št* as a vase name is unknown, and can hardly be defended on the grounds of the existence of the Coptic *ⲥⲩⲧⲱ*, which it would be difficult to derive from such a form (Brugsch derives it from *hsw*, see note 3 above). Moreover, in line 10 we are distinctly told that they put 'it back in its place', where the word *en* 'back' makes it clear or at least highly probable that 'it' refers to the original *hswi gnn* and not to some substitute made out of its remains.

Now it is perfectly possible to read the determinative of *štw* as the abstract, and, if we may suppose this to be an abnormal writing of *šw*, 'value' or 'weight', to translate 'They brought this *hswi gnn* up to (proper) value or weight'. This may well be the correct interpretation of the passage. Note that in line 11 the object is still a *hswi gnn* and not a *št*-vase.

8. 2. 1. *Stw*, if this be the reading, is a complete puzzle. If, however, we read *stw*, as is possible, the determinative suggests a derivative of *sw* 'to cut'. Černý's suggested *šhw* is also possible.

9. 2. 2. *mtw* as the name of an object of metal is known from Mayer A, 1. 20, 24 (see now Berlin *Wb.*, ii. 42). *pṛ iri mtw* should mean the 'overseer of *mtw*', and may be the title of an official of the temple rather than the proper name of the door.

10. 2. 3. See Corrections to Plates. 'Lips of the Mouth' seems a curious name for a building or room.

11. 3. 1. *swn*. Demotic *swn*, Coptic *ⲥⲟⲩⲛ*. In Ambras, 1. 1 *šn* is probably the correct reading.

12. 3. 7. *pḥ n* clearly equals the earlier *hr pḥ n* of Pap. Turin, P. R. 42. 3, 44. 11, and 46. 15 (collated).

GROUP V

THIS group consists of four texts, the dockets on the verso of Pap. Abbott, known as page 8 of that papyrus, Pap. Mayer A in the Liverpool Free Public Museums, Pap. B.M. 10052, and Pap. B.M. 10403. The Abbott dockets contain two lists of thieves. The first list consists of two parts, the first part comprising thieves of certain portable chests (*pr-n-st*), and the second part thieves of *p hr*, probably used in its more general sense of 'the Necropolis', and not in its narrower meaning of 'the tomb'. The second list consists solely of thieves of *p hr*. Papyrus Mayer A is a jumble of short documents connected with the two trials foreshadowed in these dockets, the one concerned with thefts from the *pr-n-st* of Ramesses II and the *gs-pr* of Seti I, and the other with thefts from various tombs in the Necropolis. For further details with regard to this papyrus see my *Mayer Papyri A and B*, pp. 5-10. Pap. B.M. 10052 deals with the earlier stages of the trial for thefts from the Necropolis (*p hr*), and Pap. B.M. 10403 adds some further details of the evidence given in the portable-chest trial of the Dockets and Mayer A. Such is the general connexion of this group of texts. Matters of detail can be better treated in reference to the separate papyri.

Mayer A, B.M. 10052 and 10403 are dated in the epoch known as the *whm mswt* or Renaissance. The Abbott Dockets are probably to be assigned to a slightly earlier era (see pp. 129-30). The complete list of datings in this group of papyri is as follows:

Abbott Dockets (reign uncertain)

- 8 A. 1. Year 1, first month of inundation, day 2, corresponding to Year 19.
 8 A. 19. Year 1, second month of inundation, day 24, corresponding to Year 19.

B.M. 10052 (*whm mswt*)

1. 1. Year 1, fourth month of summer, day 5.
 4. 22. Fourth month of summer, day 6.*
 5. 2. Year 1, fourth month of summer, day 6 ('second day of trial').

* 2. 30 and 4. 13 mention incidentally the fourth month of summer, day 10.

7. I. Fourth month of summer, day 7.
 8. I. Year 1, fourth month of summer, day 7 ('third day of trial').
 14. 10. Fourth month of summer, day 8 ('evening').
 16. 15. Fourth month of summer, day 10.

Pap. Mayer A (*whm mswt*)

Portable-chest sections.

- I. I. Year 1, fourth month of summer, day 15.
 11. I. Year 2, first month of inundation, day 13.
 13 A. I. Second month, day 10.

Necropolis sections.

3. 6. Fourth month of summer, day 17.
 8. I. Year 2, (month lost) of summer, day 15.
 11. 17. First month of inundation, day 13 + x.

B.M. 10403 (*whm mswt*)

- I. I. Year 2, fourth month of summer, day 16.

THE ABBOTT DOCKETS

DESCRIPTION AND CONTENTS

These dockets, as has already been mentioned, contain two lists of thieves, of which the first is divisible into two parts, thieves of the portable chests and thieves of the Necropolis, while the other contains thieves of the Necropolis alone.* The lists are dated in 'Year 1 corresponding to Year 19'. As the actual trial took place in Years 1 and 2 of the *whm mswt* or Renaissance (see Mayer A and B.M. 10052) it would seem at first sight probable that the Year 1 of the Dockets refers to that epoch. But this is far from certain. It seems possible (above, p. 3, n. 1 and p. 7) that the *whm mswt* was either a part or the whole of the reign of Menmarēc Ramesses XI. If it was a part, but not the first part, the double dating might almost be cited to show that it began in his nineteenth year. If it was the first part, which is perhaps the more probable hypothesis, then either the nineteenth year of the Dockets is that of his predecessor Ramesses X Khepermarēc, the highest previously known

* Published by CHABAS in his *Mélanges égyptologiques*, 3 sér., tome I, pp. 143-72. A good transcription by SPIEGELBERG in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, xiii, pp. 576 ff.

date of whose reign is, however, the third year, or else the Year 1 of the Docket is not that of the *whm mswt*, but of some earlier period, perhaps the reign of Khepermarēr. The latter is by far the more reasonable interpretation, and in this case the Year 19 would be that of Khepermarēr's predecessor Neferkerēr, whom we know from other sources to have reigned at least seventeen years. If this is so the thieves must have remained untried throughout the short reign of Khepermarēr, and only been brought to trial in the first year of Menmarēr. This would accord well with the fact that the trial obviously took place some time after the crime: this is clear, for example, from Mayer A, 2. 10 to end, where two witnesses, brought to give evidence concerning their fathers, who had been among the thieves, declare that they were children at the time of the thefts. At the same time another possible explanation of this fact, namely, that the Dockets themselves were not drawn up until some time after the crime, which had perhaps remained undiscovered for some years, must not be entirely left out of account.

This question is discussed at some length in *J. E. A.*, xiv. 61-3 and 71. In the absence of conclusive evidence I am inclined very tentatively to equate the *whm mswt* with the early years of Menmarēr's reign, and to date the Dockets to the Year 19 of Neferkerēr, which, in this case, would seem to have been also regarded as the first year of his successor, presumably Khepermarēr.

The lists before us are definitely stated to be only copies (*mitt šš*, 'copies of documents' or, as the context shows, 'copies of lists'). The originals were, however, of different types, for the first was laid before Pharaoh by Pwerro, prince of the West of Thebes, 8 A. 2, and the second, dated about seven weeks later, was given by the same official to the vizier, Nebmarērnakht, 8 A. 20. It may be supposed that on receiving the first list Pharaoh had instructed the vizier to open an inquiry, in view of which Pwerro had provided a fresh list more complete than the first.

Taking the lists now in detail we find that the first consists of two parts. The first part, 8 A. 3 to 12, contains the names of ten thieves of the Necropolis. Nine of these recur in the second list of thieves of the Necropolis, the exception being the sailor Khonsmōse of A. 12. Nine of the ten are found both in the trial of B.M. 10052 and also in those sections of Mayer A which deal with the thefts in the Necropolis. The exception is Amenōpenakht son of

Pauaamūn of A. 8 (the name can be inferred from B. 9) who occurs neither in Mayer nor in 10052.

The second part of this first list (8 A. 14 to 18) contains the names of five thieves of the portable chests. Four of these names do not occur in 10052, which does not touch the portable-chest thefts: they do occur in Mayer, but naturally only in such sections as do deal with the portable chests. The fifth name, that of Peinehesi, recurs both in 10052 and in Mayer (both parts), for the simple reason that, as is evident from his appearance in the second list of the Abbott dockets (B. 16), he was implicated not only in the portable-chest robberies but also in those from the Necropolis.

The second list (A. 21 to B. 22) contains thirty-one names of thieves of the Necropolis. Ten of these we have already met in List 1. This second list is doubtless to be regarded as a revised and enlarged list, for it contains all the names in the Necropolis portion of the first, with the exception of the sailor Khonsmōse, and adds a number of new ones. Of the twenty-one which are new, thirteen are found both in the Necropolis sections of Mayer and in 10052. Four are mentioned in neither, and four others are found in the one text, but not in the other. The scribe Paoemtaumt (B. 5), who in 10052, 14. 25 is stated to have been arrested in place of Paoemtaumt son of Kaka, was doubtless released when this was discovered and consequently does not appear in Mayer. We are thus left with two names, Wenamūn of A. 27 and Kezer of B. 20, which occur in Mayer, but not in 10052, while conversely one, Amenkhau of A. 21, occurs in 10052 but is not found in Mayer.

TRANSLATION (Plates XXIII-XXIV)

The references which follow each name in these lists give the occurrence of the names in the other documents of this group of papyri. A stands for Page 8 A of the Dockets themselves, B for Page 8 B, M for Pap. Mayer A, and L (London) for Pap. B.M. 10052. L. 1a refers to the list of five names written to the left of 10052, p. 1.

Col. A (Pl. XXIII) *List 1. (8 A. 1 to 18)*

(1) Year 1, first month of the inundation, day 2, corresponding to Year 19, copy of the record of the thieves of the Necropolis (2) and the thieves of the portable chests, laid before Pharaoh by the prince of the West of Nō Pwerro.

- (3) The scribe Tetisheri,¹ son of Khaemwēse, of the treasury of the temple of Amūn. (*B.* 4; *M.* 9.13; 12. 10; *L.* 5.18; 12.24.)
- (4) The trumpeter Perpethewemōpe, son of Pewerō, of the temple of Amūn. (*A.* 21; *M.* 3. 18, 21, 23; 12. 4; 13c. 2; *L.* 1. 10; 1a. 1; 2.13; 3.3, 9, 13, 22; 4. 8, 21; 6.2, 15, 21; 16. 20.)
- (5) The chief porter Dhuthotpe, son of Perpethewemōpe, of the temple of Amūn. (*B.* 17; *M.* 5.15; 12.26; *L.* 3.20; 4.5; 16.18.)
- (6) The carpenter Thewenani of the Place of Truth, who is a foreigner. (*B.* 7; *M.* 9.22; 12.23; *L.* 8.17.)
- (7) The sailor Peikamen, son of Pauamūn, of the land survey (?)² of Amūn. (*B.* 8; *M.* 9. 20; 12. 22; *L.* 9. 1.)
- (8) His brother ditto (*sic*). (*B.* 9; *name Amenōpenakht. Not in M. or L.*.)
- (9) The slave Sekhahatyamūn of the merchant Pasiemwēse,³ who is in the town of Hefau.⁴ (*B.* 10; *M.* 9.15; 12.24; *L.* 8. 2.)
- (10) The priest Pairsekher of Khonsu-the-Controller. (*B.* 11; *M.* 9.24; 12.16; *L.* 11.14.)
- (11) The herdsman Bukhaaf, son of Iuthi, of the temple of Amūn, who is in the town of Ipep.⁵ (*B.* 2; *M.* 3.21, 23, 25; 4.11; 10. 3, 4, 19; 12.3; *L.* 1. 6; 2.1, 17, 21; 3.10, 11; 4.15, 16, 19, 24, 29; 6.14; 7.3, 4; 16.8, 20.)
- (12) The sailor Khonsmōse, son of Paiunezem, whose mother is Thamesi, of the temple of Amūn. (*M.* 8.20; 12.19; *L.* 11.20.)
- (13) The thieves of the portable chests.
- (14) The scribe Peibeki son of Nesamūn, whose mother is Ese, of the temple of Usimarēr Miamūn. (*M.* 1.11; 2.6; 6.22.)
- (15) The priest Thanūfer, son of Païnebmes, of the temple of Amūn. (*M.* 11.13; 13A. 6.)
- (16) The foreigner Peinehesi, who was a priest of Sebek of Peronkh. (*B.* 16; *M.* 1.12, 13; 13c. 12; *L.* 11.4, 5, 7.)
- (17) The foreigner Peikamen, who dwells in the town of Hermonthis. (*M.* 1.8, 15, 17; *prob.* 11.11.)
- (18) The bee-keeper Sebknakht, son of Irynūfer, of the temple. (*prob.* *M.* 13A. 4.)

List 2. (8 A. 19 to 8 B. 22)

- (19) Year 1, second month of the inundation, day 24, corresponding to Year 19. Copy of the record of the thieves of (20) the Necropolis given to the vizier Nebmarērnakht by the prince of the West of Nō, Pewerō.
- (21) The trumpeter Amenkhau of the temple of Amūn . . . ⁶ Perpethew of the temple of Amūn. (*Amenkhau, L.* 4. 6; *Perpethew, see A.* 4.)
- (22) The child (?) Pesheri of Zezenen (?)⁷
- (23) The incense roaster Shedsukhons of the temple of Amūn, his two brothers.⁸ (*M.* 12.5; *L.* 1.11; 1a.2; 2.4; 2a.7; 3.1, 26; 4.7; 6.2, 14, 21; *poss.* 16.5.)

- (24) Userhetnakht of the town of Hermopolis, who lives in the Garden of . . .⁹ (*Not definitely identifiable with any of the men of this name in M. or L.*)
- (25) The foreigner Paḳarana, who was an attendant of the steward of Amūn. (*Not mentioned in M. or L.*)
- (26) The young slave Efenmut of the temple of Mut, who is a goldworker. (*M. 4.10; L. 2a.14.*)
- (27) The attendant Wenamūn, son of the measurer Pewerco, [of] the steward of Amūn. (*M. 9.5; 12.17; not in L.*)

Col. B (Pl. xxiii-xxiv)

- (1) The measurer Pewerco son of Kaka of the temple of Amūn. (*M. 3.7; 13c.8; L. 2.11; 3.11; 13.15-16, 21.*)
- (2) The herdsman Bukhaaf of the temple of Amūn. (*See A. 11.*)
- (3) The herdsman Pais son of Neban. (*M. 10.15; L. 4.19, 28, 29; 15.24.*)
- (4) The scribe Tetisheri son of Khaemwēse of the treasury of the temple of Amūn. (*See A. 3.*)
- (5) The scribe Paoemtaumt . . .¹⁰ Paoemtaumt son of Pewerco. (*The scribe L. 14.22; the other M. 13c.6, 7; L. 2.12; 3.12; 14.25.*)
- (6) The foreigner Minemwēse; he makes 14.¹¹ (*Not in M. or L.*)
- (7) The foreigner Thewenani of the Place of Truth.¹² (*See A. 6.*)
- (8) The foreigner Peikamen son of Pauaamūn. (*See A. 7.*)
- (9) The foreigner Amenōpenakht son of ditto. (*See A. 8.*)
- (10) The foreigner Sekhahatyamūn, servant of the merchant Pesiemwēse. (*See A. 9.*)
- (11) The priest Pairsekher of Khonsu-the-Controller. (*See A. 10.*)
- (12) The servant Pekeneni of the temple of Amūn. (*M. 10.18; L. 2.18; 13.10.*)
- (13) The water-carrier Ker of the tomb-chapel of King Okheperkerēr (??).¹³ (*M. 4.8; 5.1; 13c.10; L. 10.11, 20; distinct from Kerbaal of M. 12.21; L. 7.15; 12.1, 6.*)
- (14) The priest Peiwenš son of Amenhotpe, of the temple of Mut. (*M. 8.2; 12.15; L. 11.17.*)
- (15) The sailor Peikharu; he was with the troop-captain Efnamūn. (*M. 12.20; L. 13.1, 9.*)
- (16) The foreigner Peinehesi, he is a priest of Sebek of Peronkh. (*See A. 16.*)
- (17) The chief porter Dhuthotpe <son of> Perpethewemōpe. (*See A. 5.*)
- (18) The scribe of the army Ankhef son of Ptahemhab, of the temple of Amūn. (*Full name Ankhefenamūn. M. 8.16; 12.14; L. 11.9.*)
- (19) The scribe of the army Efnamūn son of ditto, ditto. (*L. 11.10; possibly M. 10.21 and L. 15.10.*)

- (20) The servant Kezer of the temple of Amūn. (*M.* 13c.9.)
 (21) The brewer Penekhtemnō of the troop-captain Efnamūn. (*M.* 9.2;
L. 7.13; 12.19.)
 (22) The field labourer ʿAzer of the temple of Month. (*M.* 9.2, 10; *L.*
 7.13.)

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

1. A. 3. The reading 𓆎₁₁ as against 𓆎₁₁ is clear both here and in B.M. 10403 (three times). The name is therefore doubtless to be read *Tt-šrī* not *Tt-wi-šrī*.

2. A. 7. See Berlin *Wb.*, i, p. 67. Also Mayer A, 9.20 and 10052, 9.1, and Pap. Mook (*Ä.Z.*, lxiii. 106, l. 5, with abstract determinative only).

3. A. 9. From here and B. 10 a case might be made out for reading *Pw-ḥm-wst*, but the examples in Mayer A, 12.24 and 10052, 8.2, more clearly written, are against this.

4. A. 9. For the town of *Hfsw* cf. note on 10052, 8.15.

5. A. 11. *Ipp* was a village probably somewhere near Thebes. Cf. Mayer A, 6.6.

6. A. 21. This group occurs only here and in B. 5. In the former case the sign which follows *mn* might perhaps be 𓆎, but in the latter it can only be 𓆎. Of the known meanings of *mn* none seems here to suit. The sense required in B. 5 can be inferred from 10052, 14.22 ff., where Paoemtaumt the scribe is found to have been arrested in place of (literally 'for', *hr*) Paoemtaumt son of Kaka. Now we do not in these texts know of a Paoemtaumt son of Kaka. There is, however, a Powerco son of Kaka, and if we may suppose that in 10052 the scribe has given the grandfather's name instead of the father's then the man intended is Paoemtaumt son of Powerco of B. 5. Be this as it may, it is clear that the word *mn* in some way conveys the idea that there was some uncertainty in the mind of the compiler of the list as to which Paoemtaumt was really the thief, the scribe or the son of Powerco.

Now the same word occurs in A. 21, and light is thrown on it by 10052, 4, 9-10, where we find that Perpethew had threatened Amenkhau that if he himself should be put to death he would take Amenkhau with him. To this incident the word *mn* must in some way refer. Possibly it means 'on the information of', a meaning which would also suit in B. 5, for the guilty Paoemtaumt when arrested may have tried to escape by throwing the blame on to the scribe of the same name.

7. A. 22. The transcription of the first group in the line is quite uncertain and the whole line puzzling.

8. A. 23. The natural way to take the words *pr:f sn 2* is 'his two brothers', in apposition to the two last mentioned names Pesheri and Shedsukhons. The suffix *f* would then refer to the name in line 21. There are, however,

in that line two names, whose relation the one to the other is not certain, but the suffix might still refer to one of the two. Yet this gives us a total of only 13 instead of 14 in line B. 6 if we count only one name each for A. 21 and B. 5, and 15 if we count two for each of these two lines.

To translate 'and his two brothers' would give us a total of 15 or 17. We can just get 14 by translating 'and his brother, (making) 2' and this may be the correct solution, though we should certainly expect some fuller phrase such as *dmḏ s 2* 'total 2 men' or *r mḥ s 2* 'making two men'. See further note on B. 6.

9. A. 24. The transcription given might be translated 'The Lake of the Pair of Sandals', but this seems a somewhat improbable name. If we might read the determinative as $\overline{\text{r}}$ we could read 'The Garden of the Ape', which would be eminently suitable at Hermopolis, the seat of Thoth. Yet the form of the sign hardly admits of this.

10. B. 5. See note on A. 21.

11. B. 6. It is hard to see how this figure is obtained. It stands in the thirteenth line of the list. If we count both the names in line A. 21 surely we must also count both those in B. 5 and the total will be 15. If, on the other hand, we count only one name in each case the total is only 13. If we suppose that the 'two brothers' of line A. 23 are not among the men named we add two more to the list and get either 15 or 17. See, however, the note on A. 23.

12. B. 7. For the latest view as to the Place of Truth see Černý in *Bull. de l'Inst. fr. d'arch. or.*, xxvii. 159-61.

13. B. 13. The reading of this name is most doubtful. 10052, 10.11 has clearly *Rc-ms* determined by the man sign, while in Mayer A, 5.1 the name is illegible. In support of the transcription given cf. 10053, ro. 7.12, where, as here, *nswt* is omitted and \odot relegated to its grammatical position.

PAPYRUS B.M. 10052

DESCRIPTION AND CONTENTS

This is a fine sheet of papyrus measuring 180 cm. in length by 36 cm. in height.* It is written the same way up on both sides by the same hand as Mayer A. There are seven pages on the recto (H/V), and nine on the verso. Fourteen short lines dovetailed into the left hand side of the upper half of p. 2 are here numbered p. 2 a. The papyrus is complete at the right end of the recto and at the top, but a few lines have perished at the bottom of each page, except in a few pages which were shorter than the rest. The left-hand end of the recto is torn off and the ends of the lines of

* For its history see above, p. 52.

p. 16 (on the verso) are thus lost. The first date is 'Year 1 in the Repeating of Births (Renaissance), fourth month of summer, day 5', and the heading 'On this day was held the trial of the great enemies, the thieves who had trespassed in the Great Places when they made the . . . trespass in them, in the forecourt (?)'. The examining magistrates are the same as in Mayer A, viz. Nebmarē-nakht, Menmarē-nakht, Yenes, and Pemiamūn. Obviously we have here the records of the early stages of the trial whose later phases are given in Mayer A, Sections III, V, VI and certain of the lists of Section VII, i.e. in those sections which deal with thefts in the Necropolis (*p. hr*). The papyrus is not concerned with the other crimes examined in Mayer A, namely the thefts from a portable chest or chests which form the subjects of Sections I, II, and IV of Mayer A.

As will be seen from the list of dates on pp. 128-9 the trial covered Days 5 to 10 of the fourth summer month. Day 9 is not actually mentioned, but may have been lost from the bottom of some page. It will be noted that Day 6 and Day 7 each occur twice, a fuller formula being in each case used on the second occasion, with the additions 'second day of trial' and 'third day of trial' respectively. There were, then, two sittings of the court on these two dates, and in each case the second sitting and not the first introduces a fresh 'day of the trial'. Surely there is only one possible explanation of this and it is that indicated by 14.10, where we have the entry 'Day 8 in the evening'. The scribe is using the phrase 'day of the trial' in the popular sense of a day which begins say at sunrise and ends at or before midnight, and, since the second sitting of the calendrical Day 7 constituted the beginning of the 'Third day of the trial' in the popular sense, it is clear that the first sitting of the calendrical Day 7 must have taken place the evening before and been reckoned in with the second 'day of the trial'. In other words, at this period the calendrical day began in the evening, probably at sunset. This is a point on which some uncertainty has always existed (see BORCHARDT, *Die altägyptische Zeitmessung*, p. 3), and this piece of evidence is therefore of considerable value.

It should be noted as a corollary that 'Day 8 in the evening' of 14.10 will be the first sitting of Day 8. Consequently no dating has been lost between this and the second mention of Day 7 (8.1).

The entry of 5.25 'This day at night-time' at first sight seems

disturbing to the above theory of the datings, but it is not so in reality. It is not necessarily a calendrical date at all, and it probably refers to the evening of the second 'day of trial' (in the sense in which the scribe uses that phrase), or, speaking according to the calendar, the first sitting of Day 7 of the fourth month. But this very date recurs in 7.1, the next dating in the papyrus. Surely it is not impossible to explain this: the scribe may have entered the proceedings of this one sitting at two different times, and repeated the date in front of the second instalment, the more naturally since he was beginning a new page, and also noticed that he had not given to the first instalment a true formal calendrical dating.

Papyrus B.M. 10052, more particularly the latter half of it, is a puzzling document until one fact is realized, namely that it deals with two distinct groups of thefts, which may be for convenience connected with the names of the ringleader in each case and called the Bukhaaf group and the Efnamūn group. This distinction is not explicitly marked in the document, which, like all these reports of trials, is singularly lacking in arrangement. After all they are often little more than mere catalogues of beatings and statements elicited by their means. No doubt the evidence was sifted by the judges, and a much more intelligible and concise report was drawn up for the use of the Pharaoh when he came to give judgement, as it is evident that he did, at least in the more serious cases.

The Bukhaaf section begins at page 1, line 1; perhaps the heading of the papyrus refers to this section alone. It continues down to 7.8. In 7.9, without introduction of any kind, begins the examination of the warehouseman Efenmonth, and it is at once evident from the names and incidents mentioned that we are dealing with an entirely different robbery or robberies. The next few pages deal solely with this new subject, but in 13.10 there is a sudden and quite unannounced return to the Bukhaaf affair, which holds the field up to the end of the document. We may thus divide the whole up as follows:

Bukhaaf affair, 1.1 to 7.8 and 13.10 to the end of the papyrus.

Efnamūn affair, 7.9 to 13.9.

This division is entirely borne out by a re-examination of Mayer A, where we can, in the light of our new knowledge, observe the same mixture of two separate groups of cemetery rob-

beries and disentangle them. Setting aside Sections I, II and IV, which deal exclusively with thefts from portable chests and not from tombs, and examining III, V and VI, we observe the following facts. All the persons examined in Section V occur exclusively between 7.9 and 13.9 in 10052,* while all the persons of Section VI occur only outside that portion. In other words Section V of Mayer A deals solely with the Efnamūn incident and Section VI solely with the Bukhaaf incident. Section III of Mayer A is a mixed section. From 3.6 to the end of 4 it is concerned with the Bukhaaf affair: then in 5.1 we have an Efnamūn incident, in 5.9 the irrelevant evidence of the ferryman Penekhtemōpe (which also occurs in 10052, 14.11 ff. and seems irrelevant there too, see note on 14.11), then in 5.13-15 two Bukhaaf witnesses, and finally, 5.16 to end, another Efnamūn witness.

This same division into two sections is partly visible in those lists of Section VII of Mayer A which deal with the Necropolis, i.e. those numbered B 1-6 in my edition. B 1 contains five names which do not occur in 10052, two from the Bukhaaf section and one from the Efnamūn section. B 2 is again a mixed list, for it gives five criminals of the Bukhaaf group, and with them Efenmonth of the other *. In List B 3 we have two receivers, Pakaempaubā, who comes from the Bukhaaf affair, and Tetisheri, for whom see note † at the foot of this page. B 4 deals purely with the Efnamūn affair, except for the last name in it, that of Dhūthotpe, which is expressly stated not to have been brought before the court in writing. B 5, which sums up the whole results of the inquiry, must surely relate to both affairs. Finally, the list of wives imprisoned (B 6) is drawn from both sections of the trial.

Having effected this division of 10052 into two sections we may now proceed to analyse its contents in greater detail under the two separate headings.

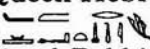
* Efnamūn, the ringleader of this group, had died before the trial, for the Impf. Past Participle *wn* is used of him in Mayer A, 5.18 and 10052, 7.11.

† The evidence of the scribe Tetisheri, 9.13-14, looks like an intrusion, for in 10052, 5.18 this man is definitely connected with the Bukhaaf incident, but only in the capacity of a blackmailer. On the other hand, he occurs again 10052, 12.24 in the Efenmonth section, where, however, there is nothing in his evidence to connect him with either theft. *A priori* there is no reason why he should not have blackmailed both sets of robbers.

SECTION I

THE BUKHAAF AFFAIR

(1.1 to 7.8 and 13.10 to end of papyrus.)

Day 5. The herdsman Bukhaaf is the first person examined. He is asked to tell the story of his attack on the royal tombs. He attempts to evade the issue by recounting not his own visit to the tombs, but a later incident. It would seem that of the twelve men engaged with Bukhaaf in the original theft, six, led by Shedsukhons and Perpethew, had subsequently gone, without the knowledge of the rest, to bring away the stolen silver, which, in view of 3.27 may have been temporarily hidden in the tomb of a scribe Pen.... Bukhaaf, one of those kept in the dark, hears of it, and he and the rest of those not informed of the second expedition at once descend on the others and demand and receive their share of the loot. This manœuvre of Bukhaaf does not deceive the court, who still demand an account of the original expedition. A second beating brings him to the point, and he relates his visit to the tomb of Queen Hebrezet, which he avers that he found already open. An interesting little dialogue arising out of this statement, between Bukhaaf and the scribe of the Necropolis Nesamenōpe, who appears throughout as a kind of unofficial counsel for the prosecution, is unfortunately spoilt by the damage to the bottom of the page. Queen Hebrezet may possibly be identical with the Royal Mother  whose name occurs on blocks of sandstone from Dêr el-Bakhît (LEPSIUS, *Denkmaeler*, iii, 218 b).^{*} A very similar name, possibly a variant spelling of a masculine equivalent of this, is borne by the father of a Royal Mother Isis who was buried in Tomb 51 of the Valley of the Queens.

Bukhaaf now gives two lists (pp. 2 and 2 a), the first consisting of names of twelve men who were with him in the tomb, and the second of men to whom he had disposed of the stolen property, mostly gold and silver.

Page 3 is headed 'Examination'. The first witness, Shedsukhons, 3.1 to 3.21, describes the later expedition in which Bukhaaf took no part except to demand his share after its conclusion. The next witness, Perpethew, speaking of this same event, states that he was brought out of his house by certain other men to go and bring

^{*} Cf. GAUTHIER, *Livre des rois*, iii, fasc. 1, 174; SETHE, *Untersuchungen*, i. 62-3 and 66.

off the things which were in the tomb of the scribe Pen.... (the rest of the name is lost).

The next * examinee is Amenkhau (4.6 to 4.14). He asserts that he has been falsely accused by Perpethew, who had a grudge against him, and after a series of beatings the last of which takes place five days later than the first his story is accepted and he is released. Consequently his name does not figure in the later stages of the trial recorded by Mayer A.

The next witness, a slave Degay belonging to Bukhaaf, asserts that Bukhaaf obtained the silver from Nesamūn and his accomplices, but gives a list of names of men who were present at a division of booty in the house of Perpethew, a list to which he makes additions on being re-examined the next day, day 6. To judge by 14.1-2 he must have made specific charges against some of these men, but they are not recorded in the papyrus.

Day 6. 5.1. 'Second day of examination of the thieves.' The incense-roaster Nesamūn is questioned. He adds one name to the list of confederates, Paineferi of Merur. He first tries to persuade the court that he and his fellows stole from the tomb nothing more than some vessels of silver, but a second beating elicits the admission of having taken also the silver shroud from the body, a much more heinous offence. The two scribes of the Necropolis who are present in court try to make him admit that the various thefts recounted involve three tombs, but he persists in his assertion that all the silver came from a single tomb.

On page 6 we are in the middle of the examination of a woman who is clearly the wife of a thief who is dead or missing; her evidence must have begun in the lost lines at the bottom of the preceding page. She describes a division of plunder in which she received her husband's share, which she was violently forced to disgorge by two of the other thieves some days later.

In line 14 four of the prisoners and the wives of two are brought 'in order to make each of them accuse his confederate'.

In 6.17 the incense-roaster Nesamūn is recalled and describes the original offer of the workman of the Necropolis Pewerikhtef to give him and his confederates a share in some 'bread' or, in other words, to 'put them on' to a tomb which could be robbed with safety. This man is undoubtedly the Pewēr stated in 1.15 to have pointed out the tomb of Queen Hebrezet.

* Assuming 4. 1-5 to be part of Perpethew's evidence.

Day 7. 7.1-8. Pnēferahau gives evidence against Amenkhau son of Mutemhab. At this point Section I takes a leap to 13.10. The date is the evening of the same day, day 7.

13.10. Examination of Pekeneny to whom Bukhaaf said he had given 2 *deben* of silver (2.18).

13.15. Mutemuia, wife of Pewerco, is examined in place of her husband, presumably dead, who was on Bukhaaf's list of thieves.

13.22. Mutemuia wife of the scribe Nesamūn is examined.

14.1. The evidence of the servant Painozem.

Day 8, evening. 14.10. The fisherman Pnekhtemōpe is examined. The incident which he relates has clearly nothing to do with either the Bukhaaf or the Efenmonth robberies; it is perhaps the incident referred to in B.M. 10054, ro. 3. 1-5. It is impossible to say why he is examined here, and again in Mayer A, 5.9, except that the impression given by these trials is that when a theft was discovered the nets of the police were thrown very wide and everyone was roped in who was known or thought to have had any connexion with the thefts or the thieves.

The rest of the papyrus consists of somewhat desultory examinations of persons implicated in various ways in the affair, and hardly repays full analysis. One piece of evidence is worth mention, that of the scribe of the army Hori, son of Efnamūn of the Place of Thoth, 15.10 ff., who is brought 'on account of his father, he having been in the tombs and stolen from this portable chest'. This is the only reference to the portable chests in this papyrus, and it is only incidental, the charge here made against Efnamūn being one connected with the tombs. This is also clear from his occurrence in Section VI of Mayer A (10.21 ff.) which is not a portable-chest section.

SECTION II

THE EFNAMŪN AFFAIR

(7.9 to 13.9.)

The whole of this trial takes place on day 7. The evidence opens with the examination of a warehouseman Efenmonth, who is made to tell the story of his attack on the tombs together with Ihumeh and Efnamūn. He states that Kerbaal and the sailor Nesamūn can give the names of all who were there. Here clearly is an incident which has nothing whatsoever to do with the

previous sections of the papyrus, for it involves an entirely different set of thieves.

The next witness (8. 1-16) is a slave Sekhahatyamūn, who at first admits only to having been in some tombs near Gebelēn and explains his connexion with Ihumeh and Efnamūn (the probable cause of his arrest) as purely accidental. This excuse proves too thin, and after a second beating he admits having been both in the West of Gebelēn and in the West of Thebes, but whether in the capacity of a tomb-robber it is not easy to determine.

The next three witnesses, Thewenani (8.17), Pentewēre (8.25) and Peikamen (9.1), protest their innocence.

The sailor Nesamūn (9.7) is one of the men whom Efenmonth suggested should be brought, and he is actually in the employ of Efnamūn. His evidence is, however, not recorded.

In 10.1 we have the examination of a certain Peikharu the younger, whose evidence is clearly important. He relates that his father saw a mummy case, stolen from a tomb, in the hands of two priests, who bought his silence with the gift of a garment.

In 10.11 Ēse the wife of Ker is examined, her husband having been implicated in a theft of silver from the Great Tombs. This woman has given signs of sudden affluence by buying a number of slaves, and she is asked to explain the source of her wealth. One of her slaves, Peinekh, is used in evidence against her.

The rest of the section is occupied with the examination of persons more or less directly connected with the affair, and a detailed analysis of it would serve no purpose.

TRANSLATION (Plates XXV-XXXV)

Page 1 (Pl. xxv)

(1) Year 1 in the Repeating of Births, fourth month of summer, day 5. On this day was made the examination of (2) the great enemies, the thieves who had trespassed in the Great Tombs when they made the . . . trespass in them, (3) in the forecourt (?):¹ (4) by the prefect of Nō and vizier Nebmarēnakht, by the overseer of the treasury of Pharaoh and overseer of the granary Menmarēnakht, by the steward and royal butler (5) Yenes, fan-bearer of Pharaoh, by the steward and royal butler Pemiamūn, scribe of Pharaoh.

(6) Examination. The herdsman Bukhaaf of the temple of Amūn was brought. The vizier said to him, When you were about that business in

which you engaged (7) and the god caught you and brought ² and placed you in the hand of Pharaoh, tell me all the men who were with you (8) in the Great Tombs. He said, As for me, I am a field worker of the temple of Amūn. The citizeness <Nesmut> ³ (9) came to the place where I was and she said to me, Some men have found something that can be sold for bread;⁴ let us go that you may (10) eat it with them. So said she to me. I found the trumpeter Perpethew, and the (11) foreigner Userhetnakht belonging to the prince of Nō, and the incense-roaster Shedsukhons, and the incense-roaster Nesamūn of the temple of Amūn, (12) and the incense-roaster Ankhef[en]khons of the temple of Amūn, and Amenkhau son of the singer of the offering-table Hori: total six. Now they levied on themselves 10 *deben* of silver (13) for each man and gave them to me: total 60 *deben* of silver. He was examined with the stick. He said, (14) Stop, I will tell. The vizier said to him, Tell the story of your going to attack the Great and Noble Tombs. (15) He said, It was Pēwēr, a workman of the Necropolis, who showed us the tomb of Queen Hebrezet. (16) They said to him, The tomb to which you went, in what state did you find it? He said, I found it (17) already open.⁵ He was examined with the stick again. He said, Stop, I will tell. The vizier said to him, Tell what you did. (18) He said, I brought away the inner coffin of silver and a shroud of gold and silver together with the men who were with me. (19) And we broke them up and divided them among ourselves. The scribe of the Necropolis Nesamenope said to him, If I went and (20) stole a goat-skin from a cattle-shed and someone else went after me,⁶ would not I inform against (?) him in order to make (21) the punishment fall on him as well as on me? He said, Whether the punishment (?) . . . me alone (?) or in a gang . . . (22) . . . in ten . . . with him in another gang (23) . . . (*most of this and all of further lines lost*).

(To the left of lines 12-15 stands in small writing Page 1a)*

- (1) The trumpeter Perpethew.
- (2) Shedsukhons.
- (3) Nesamūn.
- (4) Ankhefenkhons.
- (5) Amenkhau son of the singer of the offering-table (*sic*).

Page 2 (Pl. XXV-XXVI)

- (1) The list of the men which the herdsman Bukhaaf gave, saying that they were in his gang ⁷ of thieves:
- (2) The workman Pēwerikhtef son of Hormin.
- (3) The scribe of the divine records Nesamūn.
- (4) The incense-roaster Shedsukhons.
- (5) The incense-roaster Nesamūn called Thaybay.

* Placed a little too high in Plate XXV owing to lack of space in the correct position.

- (6) Amenkhau son of the singer of the offering-table Hori.
 (7) The incense-roaster Ankhefenkhons.
 (8) The young slave Amenkhau son of Mutemhab.
 (9) The foreigner Userhetnakht in the charge of the overseer of the hunters of Amūn. He is in the service of the prince of Nō.
 (10) The sailor Pewatero of the temple of Amūn.
 (11) The measurer Pewatero son of Kaka <of> the temple of Amūn.
 (12) The measurer Paoemtaumt.
 (13) The trumpeter Perpethew.
 (14) Total 13 men. He said, They were with me in the tomb. He confessed them. (15) He said, As Amūn lives and as the Ruler lives, if there be found a man who was (16) with me and whom I have concealed let his punishment be done to me.⁸
 (17) The whereabouts of the herdsman Bukhaaf's share of precious metal.⁹ He said:
 (18) The servant Pekeneni of the temple of Amūn; 2 *deben* of silver.
 (19) The overseer of the field of the temple of Amūn Akhenmenu; 1 *deben* of silver and 5 *kite* of gold in exchange for land.
 (20) Given to him in addition by Amenkhau son of Mutemhab; 2 *deben* of silver.
 (21) Given to him by the herdsman Bukhaaf; 2 oxen.
 (22) The scribe Amenhotpe called Seret, of the temple of Amūn; 2 *deben* in exchange for land, for 40 *deben* of copper and for 10 *khar* of barley.
 (23) The servant Shedbeg in payment for the slave Degay; 2 *deben* of silver, (24) and 60 *deben* of copper and 30 *khar* of spelt, which I had procured in exchange for silver, and (25) 16 . . . *rwḏ*-garments of good Upper Egyptian cloth of 8 cubits, breadth 4 cubits,¹⁰ and 2 *dḥw*-garments of coloured cloth.
 (26) The groom Khonsmōse, son of Taiyiri; 5 *kite* of silver.
 (27) The gold-worker who dwelt in the keep(?);¹¹ 5 *kite* of gold.
 (28) Nesamūn the servant of Peibekibin; 5 *kite* of gold.
 (29) Nesmut the wife of Peinehesi; 5 *deben* of gold.
 (30) Further examination in the fourth month of summer day 10. He said:
 (31) The captain of the crew (?) of the *wḏi*-boat¹² Khonsemhab; 2 . . . and 2 . . . total 4.
 (32) The oil boiler Nesamūn son of [Pe]bes (?); . . . silver.
 (33) The bee [keeper] Hapiro; . . . of silver.
 (34) The . . . amūn; . . .

Following lines completely lost)

Page 2 a (Pl. xxvi)

(in small script to left of first few lines of page 2)

(1) He said, I gave 5 *kite* of silver to the incense-roaster Penementenakht of the temple of Amūn in exchange for (2) 10 *hin* of honey.

(3) He said, I gave 3 *kite* of silver to Iirsu the servant of the chief priest of Amūn.

(4) He said, The thief the young slave Amenkhau son of Mutemhab gave 5 *kite* of silver to (5) Oshefitemwēse the scribe of the steward of Amūn in exchange for a . . . of wine: we took it to the house of the overseer of peasants (6) and we put 2 *hin* of honey to it¹³ and we drank it.

(7) He said, Let the incense-roaster the thief Shedsukhons be brought that we may tell you the affair (8) of this silver each man separately. This incense-roaster was brought in order to corroborate him, (9) and they said with one accord, The thief Amenkhau gave (10) 1 *deben* 5 *kite* of silver to the incense-roaster Penementenakht in exchange for (11) 1 *mezekt* of honey. Now the incense-roaster Penementenakht (12) said that there was given to him¹⁴ a further *mezekt* of honey and that Amenkhau the thief gave him (13) 1 *deben* 5 *kite* of silver in exchange for it; total 3 *deben* of silver. (14) He said, I gave 1 *deben* 5 *kite* of silver to the gold-worker Efenmut of the temple of Mut.

Page 3 (Pl. xxvi-xxvii)

(1) Examination. The incense-roaster Shedsukhons of the temple of Amūn <was brought>: <the Vizier> said to him, Tell me some men who were with you in the Tombs. (2) He said, I was sleeping in my house, and Amenkhau, son of the singer of the offering-table Hori, and the foreigner Userhetnakht (3) and the trumpeter Perpethew and the incense-roaster Nesamūn called Thaybay came to the place where I was (4) by night. They said to me, Come out. We are going to bring away this lot¹⁵ (?) of bread and eat <it>. They (5) took me with them. We opened the tomb and brought away one¹⁶ . . . shroud of gold and silver. We broke it up (6) and put it in a basket and brought it down. We divided it up and made it into six parts. We (7) gave two parts to Amenkhau son of the singer of the offering-table Hori, for he said it was he who had pointed (it) out to us,¹⁷ and he gave us four (8) parts for the four of us likewise.¹⁸ Their stone weight is¹⁹ lying there in the house of the citizeness Nesmut the wife of (9) the trumpeter Perpethew this day. Now behold this sister²⁰ of Mutemuia, and wife of Perpethew, (10) went to the place where Bukhaaf was and said to him, They have been to bring away the silver. Then the herdsman (11) Bukhaaf came with the scribe of the divine records Nesamūn and the measurer Pewatero and the sailor Pewatero and the measurer (12) Paoemtaumt son of Kaka and Amenkhau son of Mutemhab, total six. They brought the stone weight from the house of (13) Nesmut the wife of Perpethew and they took our four shares and stole them. Now my (14) father said to them, As for the noose of . . . which [you] have laid upon the neck of the lad,²¹ you have come to (15) take away his share and yet his punishment will overtake him to-morrow. But Amenkhau son of Mutemhab* (16) said

* A note in red ink at the end of this line reads 'He was behind Thaybay . . . Amenkhau'.

to him, O doddering ²² old man, evil be his old age; if you are killed and thrown into the water (17) who will look for you. He was examined with the birch and the screw. He said, Stop, I will tell. (18) The vizier said to him, It was a lie your statement that ten *deben* of silver for each man was what was given to this man ²³ and to his accomplices (19) and that you had none left.²⁴ He said, We had some left, each man, and we traded it and consumed it. He was examined again (20) with the stick. He said, I heard that a basket (?) ²⁵ full of gold belonging to (21) the Necropolis was in possession of the chief porter Dhuthotpe.

(22) Examination. The trumpeter Perpethew of the temple of Amūn was brought. He took the oath by the Ruler saying, If I speak (23) falsely may I be mutilated and sent to Ethiopia. The vizier said to him, Tell me the story of your going (24) to attack the Great Tombs when you made the great infractions there. He said, (25) While I was sitting in the house of the singer of the offering-table Hori, Amenkhau the son of Hori came; he brought with him Userhetnakht (26) and the incense-roaster Shed-sukhons and the incense-roaster Nesamūn, total [four]. They said, Come out: we are going to bring away (27) the things which are [in the] tomb of the scribe Pen... . . . took [me?] with . . . brought away this shroud of gold and silver (28) . . . broke (?) it up. And we . . .

(Some lines lost here)

Page 4 (Pl. xxvii-xxviii)

(1) Stop, I will tell. He said, I saw nothing else. The overseer of the treasury of Pharaoh, overseer of the granary, and royal butler Menmarē-nakht said to him, (2) Now tell me whether you did not go to the tomb. He said, I was there with precisely the men whom I have said. (3) They said to him, Tell me every man whom you heard of or saw. He said, I heard of the butcher Pennesuttaui, but I did not (4) see him with my eyes. He was examined again with the stick. He said, I heard that a basket (?) was in the possession of the chief porter (5) Dhuthotpe, full of gold belonging to the Necropolis.

(6) Examination. The trumpeter Amenkhau of the temple of Amūn was brought. The vizier said to him, What is the story of your going (7) with the incense-roaster Shedsukhons when you attacked this Great Tomb and you brought out from it this silver (8) after the thieves had been there. He said, Far be it from me. Far be it from me. Perpethew ²⁶ this (9) trumpeter is an enemy of mine.²⁷ I quarrelled with him and I said to him, you will be put to death (10) for this theft which you committed [in] the Necropolis. He said to me, If I go (*sc.* to death) I will take you ²⁸ with me. So said he to me. (11) He was examined with the stick on his feet and hands. He said, I saw no one at all: if ²⁹ I had seen (12) I would tell. He was examined with the birch and the screw. He said, I saw (13) nothing at all. If

I had seen I would tell. He was examined again in the fourth month of summer, day 10, he was found innocent of the thefts (14) and set at liberty.

(15) Examination. There was brought Degay the slave of the servant Shedbeg, who was in the employ of the herdsman Bukhaaf. (16) They said to him, What is the story of your going with Bukhaaf this master of yours and with the men who were with him. He said, I did not (17) see it. What is this about a (quantity of) silver! ³⁰ He found it in possession of the incense-roaster Nesamūn and the thieves (18) who were with him. He was examined with the stick. He said, Let be, I will speak. He said, There were Akhenmenu, he who is (19) overseer of peasants, . . . (*some words erased*) the herdsman Pais the brother of Bukhaaf, the herdsman (20) Pezaza the ward (?) of the treasury-guard Ahauty of the temple of Amūn. (21) He said, They were dividing ³¹ the silver in the house of the trumpeter Perpethew.

(22) Fourth month of the summer, day 6. He was brought again and examined a second day. There was given to him the oath by the Ruler not to speak falsehood on pain of being sent to Ethiopia. (23) They said to him, When you were standing here before the court yesterday you showed us the path when the land was dark (?) to the court but you did not exhaust ³² (24) your account. He said, What I have said is the truth. But <I> did not tell of all the men whom I saw with Bukhaaf. He said, There were the (25) incense-roaster ³³ Nesamūn, the overseer of peasants Akhenmenu, Pnerahau the slave of the singer Mutemhab of the temple of Mut, the inspector Hui (26) of the Flats ³⁴ of Pekhefther, this brother of the inspector Peshnemh, the herdsman Pezaza, the water-bearer Pekharu of the chapel of (27) King Hekmarēr, Pamery of (*these two words crossed out in red*), the deputy Dhutemhab of the temple of Amūn (he is dead), the soldier Ahautynūfer of the battalion of Ethiopia (28) (he lives in Ōpe), the herdsman Payis the brother of Bukhaaf, Amenpaythew, slave of Iunneferamūn the servant (29) of the chief priest of Amūn, who . . . in the District of the Falcon, ³⁵ together with Payis the brother of Bukhaaf (*sic*), and (30) Paynozem the son of the carpenter R . . . Amūn, and the coppersmith Kazaza. . . (31) the slave. . .

(*Some lines lost here*)

Page 5 (Pl. xxviii-xxix)

(1) The merchant Paineferi of Merur.³⁶

(2) Year 1, fourth month of summer, day 6: second day of examining the thieves of the Great Tombs by the vizier (3) and the officials of the Place of Examination to whom the matter had been entrusted.

(4) Examination. The incense-roaster Nesamūn called Thaybay of the temple of Amūn was brought. There was given to him the oath by the Ruler (5) saying, If I speak falsehood may I be mutilated and sent to

Ethiopia. They said to him, Tell me the story of your going (6) with your ³⁷ confederates to attack the Great Tombs, when you brought out this silver from there and (7) appropriated it. He said, We went to a tomb and we brought some vessels of silver from it, and we (8) divided them up between the five of us. He was examined with the stick. He said, I saw nothing else; (9) what I have said is what I saw. He was again examined with the stick. He said, Stop, I will tell. The vizier said to him, What vessels were (10) those which you brought away? <He said>, Certain *theb*-vases of silver and *rer*-pieces ³⁸ of gold. He was again examined with the stick. (11) He said, We brought away precisely the treasure which I have said. The vizier said to him, Tell me some men who were with you. He said, There was the merchant Paineferi (12) of Merur together with the men the list of whom the other thieves have given. He was examined again with the stick. (13) He said, Stop, I will tell. <We> brought off the shroud of silver from the tomb. We broke it up and we put it in a basket, and we (14) divided it up between the five of us. The scribe Dhutmōse of the Necropolis said, The tomb from which he brought away the *theb*-vases of silver and the fittings ³⁹ is one tomb, but (15) the tomb from which he brought away this shroud is another, making two tombs. He was examined with the stick. He said, Stop, I will tell. He said, This (16) silver is what we brought out, I saw nothing else. He was examined with the birch and the (17) screw. He said, Stop, I will tell. He said, This is the true story of my going. The scribe Nesamenōpe of the Necropolis said to him, (18) Tell me every man to whom silver was given out of this silver. He said, Some was given to the scribe Tetisheri ⁴⁰ and to the chief porter (19) Pekaempauba: for we gave to them when they heard of it, though they did not go to this tomb with us, (20) but the stone weight with which we allotted to them was a small one and not the large stone with which we had divided.⁴¹ (21) He was examined again. The scribe Nesamenōpe of the Necropolis said to him, Then the tomb from which you said the *theb*-vases of silver were brought is another tomb, making two, (22) quite apart from the main treasure. He said, It is false; the *theb*-vases belong ⁴² to the main treasure of which I have told you already: (23) one tomb and one only was what we opened. He was examined again with the stick, the birch and the screw. (24) He would not confess anything beyond what he had said.

(25) This day at night time. (26) Examination. There was brought the chief porter Peka[empauba. He was given the oath by the Ruler, saying, If I speak falsehood] (27) may I be mutilated and sent to Ethiopia. The vizier said to him . . . (28) He said, As for me, I set fire to some wood (?) . . . (*some lines lost*).

Page 6 (Pl. xxix)

(1) . . . together with the scribe of the divine records Nesamūn.⁴³ Now when some days had elapsed this brother of mine came together with (2)

the foreigner Userhetnakht and the incense-roaster Shedsukhons and the incense-roaster Nesamūn and Perpethew, (3) total 4 men. They went to this workshop (?).⁴⁴ And I went after them. They reviled (?) me.⁴⁵ And I (4) said to them, What am I to eat with you.⁴⁶ This brother of mine said to me, Go, bring me five pieces of wood.⁴⁷ I brought them (5) to them. And they divided a mass of treasure and made it into four parts, ten *deben* of silver and 2 *deben* of gold and 2 seals falling to each man (6) among them. I took the share of my husband and put it aside in my store-room and I (7) took one *deben* of silver thereof and bought *shesh*-grain⁴⁸ with it. Now when some days had passed Amenkhau the son of (8) Mutemhab came with the scribe of the divine records Nesamūn. They said to me, Give up this treasure. He was with (9) Amenkhau my own brother! They said to me, Give up this treasure. But I said to them with an air of boldness, (10) My brother will not let me be interfered with. So said I, and Amenkhau gave me a blow with a spear (11) on one of my arms, and <I> fell (?). I got up and entered the store-room, and I brought (12) this silver and I handed it over to him together with the 2 *deben* of gold and the two seals, one of real lapis lazuli (13) and one of turquoise: there was a weight of 6 *kite* of fine gold in them in mounting and setting.⁴⁹ She said, I saw nothing else.

(14) Examination. There were brought the herdsman Bukhaaf, the incense-roasters Shedsukhons and Nesamūn, (15) the trumpeter Perpethew, the citizeness Nesmut his wife, and the citizeness Mutemuia (16) the wife of the scribe of the divine records Nesamūn, in order to make each of them accuse his fellow as they stood there all together. (17) The incense-roaster Nesamūn said, Pwerikhtef this workman of the Necropolis came out, and he (18) came to the place in which was Amenkhau son of the singer of the offering-table Hori. He said to him, Come out that I may give you (19) this bread⁵⁰ and you shall give me a share in it. But do not give me too much, for so my fellow (20) necropolis-workers⁵¹ will not denounce me. So said he. And I went with Amenkhau and (21) Shedsukhons and Perpethew . . . (*some lines lost*)

Page 7 (Pl. XXIX-XXX)

(1) Fourth month of summer day 7.

(2) Examination. Pnferahau was brought, the slave of the singer Mutemhab of the temple of Mut. He was made to take the oath by the Ruler saying, if [I] (3) speak falsehood let me be mutilated and placed on the stake. <He said>, Amenkhau the son of Mutemhab was an accomplice of Bukhaaf and the gang who (4) were with him. He came from the house of the herdsman Bukhaaf bringing a *drtw*-garment of good Upper Egyptian cloth. He gave it to me. (5) I washed it and he went downstream in the 'Noble Staff' taking it with him⁵². He was examined with the stick. (6) They said to him, Tell the story of the silver which you saw in the posses-

sion of this master of yours. He said, I saw some silver (7) in his possession as thick as ⁵³ *theb*-vases of copper, but I did not set foot in this tomb. I only saw it with my eye (8) in the possession of Amenkhau this son of Mutemhab my mistress.

(9) Examination. The warehouseman Efenmonth of the temple of Month Lord of Hermonthis was brought. He was made to take the oath by the Ruler saying, if I speak untruth (10) may I be mutilated and sent to Ethiopia. They said to him, What have you to say about the affair of the Tombs which you attacked along with the (11) men whom Efnamūn who was a troop-captain sent, with Ihumeh his brother at their head? (12) He said, Efnamūn was a prophet of Month, Pasemdet (?) ⁵⁴ of the temple of Month lodging with him, and I being in the house of Efnamūn together with (13) other men, Penekhtemno and Azer of the temple of Month, and the workman Pnūfer of the Necropolis and the foreigner Penehesi the younger. (14) He was examined with the stick. He said, I saw nothing else. He was examined again with the stick. They said to him, (15) Tell of every man who was in the Tombs. He said, Let Kerbaal be brought and the sailor Nesamūn that they may tell you every man (16) who was with them. He was examined with the birch and the screw. He said, Stop, I will tell. (17) He was examined again with the stick, the birch and the screw, but he would not confess.

Page 8 (Pl. xxx-xxx1)

(1) Year 1, fourth month of summer day 7. Third day of examination of the thieves, the great foes.

(2) Examination. There was brought Sekhahatyamūn the slave of the merchant Pesienwēse. The vizier said to him, (3) What is the story of your going to attack the Great Tombs with the men (4) who were with you? He said, Far be it from me, far be it from me! The Great Tombs! (5) If they ⁵⁵ put me to death on account of the tombs of Iumiteru, ⁵⁶ they are the tombs in which I was. He was again (6) examined with the stick. He said, I gave some barley to the workman Pnūfer and he gave me 2 *kite* of (7) silver. But I found they were bad ⁵⁷ and I went to return them to him. Now the herdsman Ihumeh, (8) this brother of Efnamūn, came out. They said to me, Go in, and they took me into (9) the living-room ⁵⁸ of their house. And it happened that they were standing quarrelling: I have been defrauded concerning ⁵⁹ the silver, said one ⁶⁰ (10) of them to his fellow, though it was I who showed you the tomb. So said the son of Pnūfer this (11) workman to the herdsman Ihumeh. Now the scribe Dhutmōse said to him, You are the storehouse-keeper of the (12) men (?). [How comes it] that you were standing by them ⁶¹ while they quarrelled if they had not given you a share? He said, They did not (13) give me a share! Why should they be in my debt? ⁶² He was examined with the stick, the birch and the

screw. (14) He said, Stop, I will tell. He said, I was in the West of Iumiteru along with Nesamūn who was a chief of Mazoi, and (15) I was in the West of Nō with him also. I was in the West of Hefau⁶³ with the foreigners of Hefau, (16) all of them. He was examined again. He said, I saw nothing else.

(17) Examination. The carpenter Thewenani of the Place of Truth was brought. He was given the oath by the Ruler, saying, If I speak untruth (18) may I be mutilated and sent to Ethiopia. The vizier said to him, What is the story of your going to the Great Tombs? (19) He said, I saw the punishment which was done to the thieves in the time of the vizier Khaemwēse. Is it then likely that I should (20) go to seek out the death when I know (?) it?⁶⁴ He was examined again with the stick on his feet <and hands>. He said, I saw (21) nothing and I did nothing myself. The vizier said to him, See now, you have had the beatings, but if (22) some other comes and accuses you I will do it (*sic*).⁶⁵ He said, If some other comes and accuses me you shall mete out (23) to me any dreadful punishment. He was examined again with the stick, the birch and the screw. (24) He said, I saw no one at all, and would not confess.

(25) Examination. The foreigner Pentewere of the battalion of Ethiopia was brought. He was given [the oath by the Ruler, saying, If I speak untruth, may I be mutilated] (26) and placed on the stake. The vizier said to him what is the story of . . .

(Some lines lost)

Page 9 (Pl. xxxi)

(1) Examination. The foreigner Peikamen of the land survey⁶⁶ of Amūn was brought. There was given to him the oath by the Ruler saying, If I (2) speak falsehood let me be mutilated and sent to Ethiopia. The vizier said to him, What is the story of your going (3) to attack the Great Tombs? He said, If it be found that I saw (4) a *kite* of silver or a *kite* of gold from the tombs let any dreadful punishment whatsoever be done to me. He was examined again (5) with the stick. He said, I saw nothing. He was examined with the stick, the (6) birch and the screw, but he would not confess.

(About fifteen lines blank)

(7) Examination. There was brought the sailor Nesamūn belonging to the overseer of the cattle of Amūn who was with the troop-captain Efnamūn. (8) There was given to him the oath by the Ruler.

(Two lines blank and then traces of a further line)

Page 10 (Pl. xxxi)

(1) Examination. There was brought the gardener Pei[kha]ru the younger, son of Amen[emhab of the temple of]⁶⁷ Khonsu of Amenōpe. (2) There was given to him the oath by the Ruler, saying, If I speak falsehood let me be mutilated and placed [on] the stake. The vizier said to him, (3) What

about the matter of the Great Tombs which you attacked along with the men who were with you? (4) He said, I never went: let <me> tell you the story (?).⁶⁸ My father ferried over to the Island (?) of (5) Amenemōpe.⁶⁹ He found an inner coffin in the possession of the priest Iy⁷⁰ of the chapel of King Menkheperre, life, health and prosperity, (6) and of the priest Kaemwēse of this temple. They said to him, This inner coffin is ours (?). It belonged to some great person (?).⁷¹ (7) We were hungry and we went and brought it away, but be you silent and we will give you a *daiu*-garment. So said they to him. (8) And they gave him a *daiu*-garment. But my mother said to him. Silly⁷² old man that you are, what you have done is committing a theft. (9) So said she to him. He was examined with the stick: he said, I saw nothing whatever. (10) He was examined again, but would not confess. He was examined (*sic, end*)

(11) Examination. The citizeness Ēse was brought, the wife of the gardener Ker of the funerary chapel of Ramōse. (12) There was given to her the oath by the Ruler to the effect that if she spoke falsehood she should be mutilated and placed on the stake. (13) The vizier said to her, What is the story of this silver which your husband brought away from the Great Tombs? (14) She said, I did not see it. The scribe Dhutmōse said to her, How did you buy the servants (15) which you bought? She said, I bought them in exchange for crops (?)⁷³ from my garden. The vizier (16) said, Let Paineikh her servant be brought that he may accuse her. The slave Paineikh was brought. (17) He was made to take oath by the Ruler in the same way. They said to him, What have you to say? He said, (*sic*) What is the story of this silver which your master brought away? (18) He said, When Peinehesi destroyed Hartai⁷⁴ the young Nubian Butchamūn bought me, and the foreigner (19) Penteseekhenu bought <me> from him: he gave two *deben* of silver for me. Now when he was killed the (20) gardener Ker bought me.

Page 11 (Pl. xxxi-xxxii)

(1) Examination. The brewer Nesprē of the temple of Rē from the roof of the temple of Amūn was brought. He was made to take oath saying, If I speak falsehood (2) may I be mutilated and sent to Ethiopia, They said to him, What have you to say? He said, Far be it from me, far be it from me. He was examined (3) with the stick. He said, I saw nothing.

(4) Examination. The citizeness Irinūfer was brought, the wife of the foreigner Penehesi son of That. They gave her the oath by the Ruler <saying> If I speak falsehood may I be sent to Ethiopia. (5) They said to her, What have you to say about this silver which your husband Penehesi brought away? She said, I did not see it. The vizier said to her, How did you (6) buy the servants along with him? She said, I did not see any silver: he bought them when he was about that business on which he was engaged.⁷⁵

(7) The court said to her, What is the story of the silver which Peinehesi worked for Sebkemsaf? She said, I got it in exchange for (8) barley in the year of the hyenas when there was a famine.

(9) Examination. There was brought the scribe of the army Ankhefnamūn son of Ptahemhab of the temple of Amūn. There was given to him the oath by the Ruler, saying, If I speak falsehood may I be mutilated (10) and sent to Ethiopia. They said to him, What about this story of your attacking the Great Tombs with your brother Efnamūn son of (11) Ptahemhab? He said, Far be it from me, far be it from me. I do not know the tombs. It is my men who were <on> the West (12) and went to the Necropolis; if <I> am to be killed on account of men <of mine> that is my crime.⁷⁶ He was examined again with the stick. (13) He would not confess.

(14) Examination. The inspector Pairsekher of the temple of Amūn was brought. They gave him the oath by the Ruler, saying, If I speak falsehood may I be mutilated (15) and placed on the stake. They said to him, What is the story of your going to attack the Great Tombs? He said, Far be it from me, far be it (16) from me. He was examined with the stick. He said, Let be, I will speak. But he did not confess.

(17) Examination. The priest Pēwensh of the temple of Mut, was brought. They gave him the oath by the Ruler, saying, If I speak falsehood may I be mutilated and placed on the stake. (18) They said to him, what have you to say? He said, I saw no one; I lived on a small house (?) belonging to the temple of Mut. He was examined with the stick (19) but he would not confess.

(20) Examination. There was brought the sailor Khonsmōse son of Painōzem of the temple of Amūn. They gave him the oath in the same way. They said to him, What have you to say about the matter of this (21) silver which the sailor Pewerco says you bought? He was examined with the stick. He said, Do not tell lies;⁷⁷ it is quite untrue. He was again (22) examined with the stick, but he would not confess.

(23) [Examination. There was brought] . . . Amūn. They gave him the oath by the Ruler, saying, If I speak falsehood may I be mutilated and sent to Ethiopia. (24) [He said, let there be brought and the] citi-[zeness?] Mut. . . . There is no matter which they do not know about. They it was who . . .

(*Rest of page lost*)

Page 12 (Pl. xxxii-xxxiii)

(1) Examination. The slave Kerbaal was brought. (2) He said, When Efnamūn killed the brothers of my superiors (3) I went into the boat with him and I went to the Wall of the Mighty.⁷⁸ (4) Now when he arrived at the town of Pauzmehtien. . . .⁷⁹ they said to him, Your (5) men have been

robbing the West. And he said, Be silent, do not tell. And when <he> came back (6) and reached Nō, they came saying to me, Kerbaal, do you go with (7) your companions and bring off this ox from Ihumeh his ⁸⁰ brother. (8) But I said, I won't go. Am I who came <from> Syria one to be sent to Ethiopia? ⁸¹ (9) Let my master find out my fault and beat me for it. So said I. (10) And I refused to go. Let Peithew be brought, and the wife of Efnamūn, and (11) Menthscrankh, this pro<phet> of Month: if they accuse me you may give me any punishment you like.

(12) This same day in the evening. Examination. The storekeeper Dhutemhab was brought, (13) of the temple of Month, Lord of Hermonthis. They made him take the oath by the Ruler not to speak falsehood. The royal butler (14) Yens said to him, Tell the story of what you did. He made an oath by the Ruler, saying, I did not (15) set foot in the Tombs. He was examined with the stick. He said (16) Stop, I will tell. He said, I did not see it. He was examined again (17) with the stick on his feet and his hands, and with the birch and the screw. He said, I did not (18) see it. If you bid me lie I will lie. He was examined again (19) by the same means.⁸² He said, I heard Penekhtemnō and Ihumeh and (20) Peinehesi the younger and the workman Pnūfer, though I did not see (them) with my eyes. Do not (21) force me to lie.

(22) There was brought the divine father Menthscrankh of the temple of Month in order to question him.⁸³ He ⁸⁴ said, I was in Hermonthis (23) and I heard that Efnamūn (*sic, end*). Examination (*sic*).

(24) Examination. There was brought the scribe Tetisheri. They gave him the oath not to speak falsehood. (25) They said to him, What have you to say about this silver given to you by the men of this gang (26) who [gave] you this silver? He said, I receive some indeed! Let him (27) who accuses me be brought and let him accuse me. As for everything which he shall say [he gave] me, I received it.⁸⁴ (28) The incense-[roaster] Nesamūn called Thaybay was brought. They said to him . . . (*rest of line lost*).

(*A few lines probably lost here*)

Page 13 (Pl. XXXIII)

(1) Examination. The sailor Peikharu was brought. He was made to take oath by the Ruler not to speak falsehood. (2) They said to him, What is the story of your ferrying the men over to land them on this side (3) and bring away this silver? He said, I did not ferry them. A messenger of Efnamūn came (4) to me and said to me, Ferry the men over and land them on this side. So said they to me. (5) And I said to them, If you say this to me regarding this young sailor, he shall (6) take them. So said I to them. I gave them the young sailor. And the royal butler Yens said to him, (7) What messenger of Efnamūn was it who came to you? He said, It was

Ihumeḥ his brother (8) who came to me. He said, Let the sailor Nesamūn be brought and let him accuse me. Nesamūn was brought. (9) They said to him, What have you to say? He said, Peikharu did not see it, it was I who ferried the men.

(10) Examination. There was brought the servant Pekeneny son of Wen-nefer of the temple of Amūn. He was given (11) the oath by the Ruler not to speak falsehood. They said to him, What have you to say concerning the affair of the Tombs? (12) He said, As Amūn lives and as the Ruler lives if it be found that I had to do with ⁸⁵ the men (13) or that they gave me a *kite* of silver or a *kite* of gold let me be mutilated and placed on the stake. He was examined with the stick. Said (*end, sic*)

(15) Examination. The citizeness Mutemuia was brought, the wife of the measurer Pewerro. They said to her, What have you to say concerning (16) Pewerro this husband of yours who brought away this silver while he was in your house? (17) She said, My father heard that <he> had gone to this tomb and said to me, I will not allow this man to enter (18) my house. She was examined again. She said, He never brought me his load. (19) She was examined again with the birch and the screw. She said, He stole (20) this silver and put it in the house of the overseer of the chamber Ruti the husband of Tabeki (21) the sister of the measurer Pewerro.

(22) Examination. The citizeness Mutemuia was brought, the wife of the scribe of the divine records Nesamūn. (23) There was given to her the oath by the Ruler not to speak falsehood. They said to her, What have you to say? (24) She said, When the war of the chief priest took place this man stole (25) property belonging to my father and my father said, I will not allow the man to enter (26) my house. Now . . . beside ⁸⁶ . . .

(*The rest is lost*)

Page 14 (Pl. xxxiv)

(1) Examination. There was brought the servant Painozem of the temple of Amūn in consequence (?) ⁸⁷ of the deposition of the slave Degay. (2) He was given the oath not to speak falsehood. They said to him, What have you to say concerning the affair of the vessels of (3) silver which they say were lying in the basket (?) ⁸⁸ together with the vessels of alabaster (?) ⁸⁹ on the flats? ⁹⁰ (4) He made an oath saying, If I be found to have set foot on this stone ⁹¹ (5) may I be placed on the stake. He said, Let there be brought a man to accuse me. The slave Degay was brought. He said, This man came up to me (6) as he returned from up there: he said to me, I have come from the temple. And he had some 'bread' ⁹² with him. The basket (?) was lying (7) in a pool (?) with the vessels in it. The slave Degay said, All this that he has said is false: (8) he said to the female slave Shedsumut, Do not confess anything; fill yourself with my courage in this . . . (9) of solitary examination ⁹³ and confess nothing.

(10) Fourth month of summer, day 8, in the evening. (11) Examination. There was brought the fisherman Penekhtenōpe of the prince of Nō.⁹⁴ He was given the oath not (12) to speak falsehood. They said to him, What is the story of your going and attacking the Great Tombs along with (13) the thieves with whom you were, and you were with them as ⁹⁵ ferryman? He said, I ferried the (14) thieves from the District of the Falcon ⁹⁶ and landed them on this side. They said to him, Who and who were they? (15) He said, The coppersmith Uaresi of the Necropolis, the priest Penekhtresi son of Pewensh of the temple of Khepermarēr,⁹⁷ (16) and the carpenter Itfnūfer. I brought them over to Nō. They said to him, Did you see what they were carrying? He said, I did not see. (17) He was again examined with the stick. He said, Don't lie about me;⁹⁸ I did not see them. The vizier and the court said to him, (18) What sort of loads had they on their backs? He said, Their things were on their backs, but I did not see them.

(19) The servant Painōzem was examined again concerning the words which the slave Degay said he had used <to> the slave Shedsunut, (20) to wit, Do not confess anything they may ask you just this once.⁹⁹ If you keep a stout heart (21) I shall get off safe. He was examined again in the fourth month of summer day 10 and set at liberty.

(22) Examination. The scribe Paoemtaunt was brought. (23) He was given the oath not to speak falsehood. He said, As Amūn lives and as the Ruler lives, if I be found (24) to have had anything to do with any one of the thieves may I be mutilated in nose and ears and placed on the stake. He was examined (25) with the stick. He was found to have been arrested on account of the measurer Paoemtaunt son of Kaka.¹⁰⁰

(26) Examination. There was brought . . . (lost) . . . (27) . . . He said, <I> heard that . . .

(Rest lost)

Page 15 (Pl. xxxiv-xxxv)

(1) Examination. The sailor Amenhotpe son of Iryro was brought. He was given the oath not to speak falsehood. They said to him, What have you to say concerning (2) the husband of your sister with whom you were in the tombs? He said, Let some one be brought to accuse me. If it be found to be (3) true you may inflict on me any dreadful punishment. He was examined and found innocent in regard to the thieves.

(4) Examination. There was brought the citizeness Mutemhab the wife of the goldworker Ramōse who used to melt down gold and silver for them. (5) She was given the oath not to speak falsehood. They said to her, What have you to say about the matter of this silver (6) which the thieves used to bring to Ramōse your husband? She said, He never brought this silver while he was in my (7) house. I am one of four wives, two being dead and another still alive. Let her who is alive be brought and let her (8) accuse

me. The vizier said, Take this woman and keep her a prisoner until ¹⁰¹ there be found a thief (9) to accuse her.

(10) Examination. There was brought the scribe of the army Hori son of Efnamūn of the place of Thoth ¹⁰² in the house of Amūn on account of his father, he having been in the Tombs (11) and also stolen from this portable-chest. The vizier said to him, Did your father make with his own hand the borings which were made? (12) He said, My father bought a servant and called him H...amūn by name, but Penehesi took him. He said (further) Henutenkhen, and (13) Tabeki, and a servant of Setekhpaika, and a young female slave of the scribe Tepemnekht. ¹⁰³

(14) Examination. There was brought the quarryman Hori of the works of Pharaoh who dwelt in the city of . . . ¹⁰⁴ (15) He was found to be innocent with regard to the thieves.

(16) Examination. There was brought the servant Painōzem of the temple of Amūn. (17) He took an oath by the Ruler saying, If I be found to have had anything to do with the thieves may I be placed on the stake. (18) He was examined and found innocent with regard to the thieves.

(19) Examination. There was brought the gold-worker Suaamūn of the temple of Amūn. He was given the oath. (20) They said to him, What have you to say about this son of yours who was with you? (*end!*)

(21) Examination. There was brought the foreigner Ahautinūfer son of Nekh. (22) He said, Far be it from me, far be it from me. (23) He was examined with the stick and found innocent . . .

(24) Examination. There was brought the herdsman Pais . . .
(*A few lines lost*)

Page 16 (Pl. xxxv)

(1) Examination. There was brought the herdsman Suaamūn of the temple of Amūn. There was given to [him the oath] . . . (2) He said, I did not see it. He was examined with the stick. He . . .

(3) Examination. There was brought the fisherman Peiukhed of the chapel [of]. . . (4) He said, My superior sent to look for me saying, Let . . . (5) 10 *deben* of copper to Shedsukhons. He gave me a bundle (?) . . . (6) Penementenakht. The slave Degay was brought to accuse him. . . (7) in writing.

(8) Examination. There was brought the herdsman Bukhaaf of the temple of Amūn on account of . . . (9) of this [sil]ver which they said was given to the overseer of the field Akh[enmenu] . . . (10) speak falsehood. They said to him, When you were standing before the court . . . (11) this overseer of the field, tell the story of what you did . . . (12) He said, Amenkhau the son of Mutemhab stole . . . (13) Akhenmenu: he is husband to his younger sister. . . (14) I gave him 3 *deben* of silver.

(15) Fourth month of summer, day 10.

(16) There was brought the coppersmith Hori called K̄azaza . . . (17) He was found to be unconnected with the thieves and set at liberty.

(18) The chief porter Dhuthotpe was again examined. He was given the oath [by the Ruler] . . . (19) of your going to the Tombs. He said, I did not go. . . (20) There were brought the herdsman Bukhaaf, the trumpeter Perpethew son of . . . (21) He was remanded for further examination.

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

1. 1.1-3. The sign after *dgʿs n* can hardly be 𓆎 , and 𓆏 seems the only possibility. In the following *imw* a *e* seems to be missing, as is often the case. In line 3 the last group looks like the house determinative with a filling stroke under it. Yet such filling strokes are not used either in this papyrus or in others of the group. In any case what is *hʿti*? The word seems to occur SETHE, *Urk.* iv. 129. 13, where a certain Sebekhotpe bears the title 'porter of the *hʿti*'. This may well be identical with the *hʿiti* of Pap. Petrograd 1116 A, vs. 130 and 135, which Spiegelberg equates with the demotic *hidt* Coptic 𓪛𓪛𓪛 (SPIEG., *Koptische Etymologien*, p. 25, no. 16, *Kopt. Handwb.*, p. 248). We may thus translate tentatively 'in the fore-court'. This adverbial phrase can hardly be part either of the subordinate clause beginning *tw-w irt n: dgʿs*: it belongs to the main sentence beginning *irt p: smtr*, and indicates the place where the trial took place.

2. 1.7. *intwf* may be a correct perfective *sdmf* form, see GARDINER, *Grammar*, § 448, but as we should still need an object after it it seems possible that it is an error for *in-f tw* 'and brought you'.

3. 1.8. See 3.9 and note.

4. 1.9. *ssp n rk*. This may well be a piece of thieves' *argot* for a 'haul' i.e. of plunder, booty. Possibly we should compare the use of 𓪛𓪛𓪛 in Coptic in 𓪛𓪛𓪛 𓪛𓪛𓪛 (SPIEG., *Kopt. Handwb.* p. 202) for something which can be bought (and consequently sold) for money. Here the phrase seems to mean something which can be turned into food, and the metaphor is kept up by *wmm-k* ('eat', i.e. 'divide') in the next line. Cf. 3.4, 6.4.

5. 1.17. *cn*. 'Again' makes no sense here, unless we suppose that Bukhaaf had been in the tomb before, which the context does not suggest. Can it have the meaning 'already'? We do not know any other Egyptian equivalent for this English word, and it would be quite in keeping with the Egyptian lack of tense-feeling that the same word should be used for 'on another occasion' whether before or after some fixed moment. In 5.22 the meaning 'already' seems obligatory. So, too, Pap. Berlin 10496, vs. 6, which shows how the meaning 'already' may have arisen out of 'again'.

6. 1.20. *sz-l*. Either 'later than me' or 'in my train', i.e. with me, for which, however, we should rather have expected *irm-i*. It is a pity that

lacunae obscure the sense of this interesting play of words between the scribe and the criminal. The scribe clearly says 'As you are certain to be punished yourself why not give away your accomplices'. The criminal seems to reply that punishment is the same whether you take it alone or along with others. For *wndw* see *Rec. de trav.*, xxix, p. 19, note 2.

7. 2.1. *tt*. Though the reading must be regarded as doubtful (see Corrections to Plates) the meaning of this word seems certain. It almost certainly occurs again in 7.3.

8. 2.16. *iw ir-w nf*. Though we must translate 'Let his punishment be inflicted on me' the *f* is not a scribe's error, but is due simply to the confusion of persons unavoidable in a language which, like Egyptian, has no special syntactic forms for reported speech, and mixes Oratio Recta and Obliqua. The verbal form *iw irw* (*iw sdm-f* passive) is curious in a principal sentence.

9. 2.17. *hd* clearly includes both silver and gold, and therefore has its more general sense of 'precious metal', almost our 'money'. Cf. the French *argent*.

10. 2.25. A very cursively written line, the interpretation of which is however helped by comparison with such passages as Pap. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 209, ro. 5.9-10 (collated). The word which follows *rwḏ* must be an adjective agreeing with it: the temptation to take its first group as the numeral 8 must be resisted, for the number of *rwḏ* is 16, which stands later in the line in its usual position, preceded by a dot.

11. 2.27. *šrc*. Cf. Amherst, 4.3, with note, and 10053, ro. 4.13.

12. 2.31. No word *wḏt* meaning 'a boat' seems to exist. Possibly it is a writing of *ḏt* (in reality feminine *ḏt*): compare the confusion in this period between *ḏt* and *wḏt* for 'remainder'.

13. 2a.6. Clearly not 'We gave 2 *hin* of honey for it', for they had already paid for the wine; what is more, to 'give for' is *rdit r ḏb*, not *rdit r*. The honey must, then, have been used to sweeten the wine.

14. 2a.12. I.e. to Amenkhau.

15. 3.4. It seems difficult to read anything but *cnḥ* here, with *n* for the dot. *cnḥ n cḥ* must, like *šsp n cḥ* in 1.9, be a colloquialism for 'plunder'. Černý's *gs n* (see Corrections to Plates) is not quite so convincing here as in 10403, 3.3, 13.

16. 3.5. *dbn* 1. There is clearly an error here. That the shroud weighed much more than one *deben* is clear from what follows. Perhaps the scribe should have written *wr* 'large' or *šri* 'small'.

17. 3.7. *r ḏd ink i-wšh*, &c. An admirable instance of the means by which Egyptian avoids Oratio Obliqua, and of the consequent confusion of persons. For *wšh dt* cf. Abbott, 5.6.



18. 3.8. *gr inn*. The reading *gr* is certain, and though the exact writing of the following group may be doubtful there can be no doubt that it is the

rare independent pronoun 1st person plural *inn*. The idiom *gr* + indep. pron. at the end of a clause in the sense of 'we too' or 'us too' &c. is too common in Late Egyptian to need illustration.

19. 3.8. *pꜣw fꜣ n inr*. Gardiner calls my attention to Ostrakon Petrie 84, a large and heavy piece of limestone bearing a hieratic inscription in bold Nineteenth Dynasty characters








which he is undoubtedly right in translating 'The weight of Aninakht'. The block of stone sign is doubtless the determinative of *fꜣ* as in 10052, 5.20. It is quite clear that this inscription contains the clue to the present passage, and that our *fꜣ n inr* is simply the phrase for 'weight of stone'. The 3rd plural suffix of *pꜣw* can only refer to the preceding *dnit*. Consequently 'their weight' means the weight of the shares. It is improbable that the thieves had at their disposition a pair of accurate scales, and in dividing their booty they made use of some rough and ready method which involved the production of a stone weight equivalent to each share. This weight Shedsukhons tells the court had been preserved in the house where the division took place. When Bukhaaf and his confederates came to take the precious metal from Shedsukhons's gang they brought with them this weight from the house of Nesmut, presumably because it afforded evidence of the exact amount of the booty and so enabled Bukhaaf to ensure the handing over to him of the whole and not merely a part. The treacherous Nesmut may have kept it for this very purpose. The use in dividing plunder of a weight equivalent to the whole of a share is admirably illustrated by 5.20.

I learn from Černý that among the ostraca of the Cairo Museum there are several which are marked as weights;  or  is the usual writing. On one we read, for instance, 'Weight of the chisel (*hꜣ*) of Kenna son of Seba, first month of inundation, day six,' and on another 'Weight of the copper of Menna'. From this it would seem that, instead of recording in *deben* and *kite* the weight of an object lent or delivered, it was quite customary to preserve for record purposes a stone of the same weight as the object, suitably inscribed.

The omission of *qꜣ* before *pꜣw fꜣ* (noun subject) is unusual.

20. 3.9. i.e. Nesmut. Cf. 1.8 for the incident. For Mutemuia cf. 6.15-16.

21. 3.14. The difficulty of reading the group which follows *mhꜣ* makes it impossible to interpret this remark of the father. If *shꜣ* (?) is a noun and there is really an *n* before it the sentence is an anacoluthon, for the subject *mhꜣ n shꜣ*, introduced by *ir*, has no predicate of any kind.

22. 3.16. *šꜣšꜣ*. Cf. 10.8. This is clearly the same word as     .

Pap. Bibliothèque National, Paris, 237, carton 25, ro. 2 and vs. 3. On the recto we have the same combination *irw ššš* as here. The writer of the letter is apparently complaining about the insufficiency of the ration given to certain labourers. 'As for the men', he says, 'they are not like this child or this doddering old man, who gets $5\frac{1}{2}$ *khar* of spelt though he does no work for it.' On the verso the context is disturbed by lacunae, but the phrase 'Behold the man, he is a dodderer', seems clear.

The determinative in our papyrus is that of dancing, and it is not quite identical with that of *hwt*, 'to rave', in Wenamon, 1. x+5. In 10.8 'silly' or the colloquial 'soft' seems to be sufficiently definite. In Pap. Anastasi v, 7.4 and Pap. Salt 124, vs. 2.3 a word *šš* is determined by *š* (Salt *š*). In Salt the translation 'mad' or similar seems called for.

23. 3.18. I.e. Bukhaaf.

24. 3.19. The order shows that *sp* is not a noun but a verb, and its constructions here are very interesting grammatically.

25. 3.20. *ksksti*. The determinative suggests a basket or similar. I can find no parallel either in Egyptian or Coptic.

26. 4.8. *wš ri wš r hct-i*. Literally perhaps 'may (evil) be far from me, may (evil) be far from my person'. The phrase is used several times in this papyrus by thieves protesting innocence. For this colourless use of *hctw* Cf. Pap. Berlin 3055, 12.5 *irw nk irw n hctw-k* 'Praise to thee (Amūn), praise to thy person'.

27. 4.9. *pt-i iry n tttt*. Wenamon, 2.72. Compare *iri ch* with similar meaning, *A.Z.*, xxix, p. 49, and *iri hms* 'one who lives in the same house'.

28. 4.10. Literally 'I shall go (to death) taking you with me', by falsely accusing you of the same crime. *t-twti* for *t-i tw* is a common error of scribes.

29. 4.11. *hn*, literally 'would that', and so, in the protasis of a conditional sentence, 'if'. Cf. Wenamon 2.29 and perhaps also 1.18.

30. 4.17. *iry twf ih*. See note on 10383, 1.5 (p. 126). In this passage it is followed by a noun 'a piece of silver' in the absolute construction.

31. 4.21. The form *wn t-tr-f sdm* probably marks the imperfect tense in past time, though I can find no parallel for it. The only cases where *t-tr-f sdm* is preceded by *wn* occur in the apodosis of conditional sentences, Wenamon, 1. x+21, and 2.11. For an obscure instance of *t-tr-f sdm* after the geminated form *wnn* see Pap. Turin 1887, ro. 2.15 (PLEYTE-ROSSI, Pl. lx, 15, collated).

32. 4.23. *hr*. The meaning of the word is given by L. D., iii. 160-1, where it is used of the Hittites draining the water out of the lungs of their half drowned chief. It must mean to 'pump out' or 'exhaust'. The determinative which accompanies it in the Proverbs of Amenemope, 7.6 bears this out, though the meaning cannot be tested by context, for the sense of the preceding word is unknown. 'Exhaust' suits admirably here, and

equally well in Mayer A, 1.5, where I should now translate 'the thieves . . . who were forced to confess all (literally 'emptied' or 'pumped out') by beating (*smtr*) their feet and hands'. Can the *hrrw* of the medical papyri be from this root and mean 'emptyings', 'dregs'? See WRESZINSKI, *Die Medizin der alten Ägypter*, ii. 74-5.

33. 4.25. *sṣk*. For this title see Golenishchef Glossary, 2.13, *sṣk sntr*. This same Nesamūn is called *ps sntr* 'incense-roaster' in 4.17 and the two processes *ps* and *sṣk* may well be equivalent.

34. 4.26. *mṣt* or *mṣwt* is probably the reading of this word (Golenishchef Glossary, 1.12). According to the Berlin *Wb.* it means land which has just emerged from the flood water and is the origin of the Coptic ⲙⲟⲩⲉ 'an island'. It occurs again in our papyrus, 14.3, also Turin Necropolis Journal, Year 17, B vs. 9.25, Pap. Turin, P.R. lxxviii-lxix, ro. 3.9, and also several times in the Amiens account papyrus. The *mṣwt n pṣ hft-hr* has probably nothing to do with the well-known *Hftt-hr-nbs*, which Winlock thinks was a quay on the west bank of Thebes. See *J.E.A.*, x. 224-5 and notes. Did the word already mean an island in the Twentieth Dynasty?

35. 4.29. *tṣ iṣdt n pṣ bik*. Cf. Mayer A, 7.3. It occurs again in 14.14 of the present papyrus, and, judging by the evidence of that passage, lay on the West of Thebes near the river. It occurs in a list of place-names in Golenishchef Glossary, 4. 15.

36. 5.1. This line at the top of the page is of the nature of a scribe's note indicating that it is on this page that certain evidence concerning one Paineferi of Merur is to be found. See line 11. For Merur see 10053, ro. 1.10, note (p. 110).

37. 5.6. Note that this use of the dependent pronouns first analysed by GARDINER in *Ä.Z.*, I. 114 ff. is also found, as here, after a noun preceded by the definite article.

38. 5.10. See note 39 below.

39. 5.14. *ipt*, if this be the reading, is a difficult word. It is clear from the context that it is identical with *rr* of line 10. But *rr* is unfortunately unknown, for, despite the addition *n nb*, it can hardly be identified with *ṣṣ n nb* of Berlin *Wb.*, ii, p. 438, which is presumably to be read *phr* and not *rr*. Now in 10403, ro. 1.5 we have a word *ipt* written precisely as here, and it clearly describes those parts of a portable chest which were stolen or damaged by the thieves. What the thieves actually stole we know to have been the copper rings of the carrying-poles, and it is these which must be indicated by *ipt*. Possibly then *ipt* is a general word for fittings, or trappings, i.e. the metal parts of an object mainly made of commoner material. It is of course possible to read *ipd*, in which case we should have the well-known word for furniture; but furniture is not likely to have been of gold, and *ipd* would naturally have the wood determinative and not the stroke, which indicates some less usual sign.

40. 5.18. Tetisheri. Carefully written instances in 10403 show that $\textcircled{\text{t}}$ and not $\textcircled{\text{e}}$ is to be read in this name. Consequently we must read *Tt-šri* not *Twt-šri*. Cf. p. 134, n. 1.

41. 5.20. See note 19 (p. 160). The point here is that the thieves, when blackmailed by the scribe and the chief porter, handed over part of their plunder but not the whole. Instead of producing the stone weight which they had used in dividing among themselves they produced a smaller one, so deceiving the blackmailers as to the amount of the booty.

42. 5.22. For *irt* . . . *r* 'belong to' I can quote no parallel, but the meaning seems certain.

43. 6.1. The earlier part of this woman's confession is lost in the missing lines at the bottom of page 5. She is the wife of one of the thieves, who is presumably dead, since she is not only called as a witness in his place but also represents herself as having claimed his share of booty from the other criminals. A comparison of the names occurring in her story with those of 1.10-12 suggests that she was the wife of Ankhefenkhons and sister of Amenkhau son of Hori. The incidents she relates arise out of the theft committed by the six men without the knowledge of Bukhaaf.

44. 6.3. *pr ms* seems to be the only possible reading. But what can a 'house of birth' be in this context? Is it possibly a 'house of making', i.e. a workshop?

45. 6.3. *bhn*, judging by its determinatives, must be the verb given by the Berlin *Wb.*, i. 469 as meaning 'to bay' or similar, of dogs. It seems here to take a direct object of the person.

46. 6.4. Clearly a slang phrase for 'What share am I to have'. Compare the metaphorical use of 'bread' for 'plunder' in this papyrus, e.g. below, l. 19.

47. 6.4. The pieces of wood were clearly to be used in making the division, but it is not easy to imagine how. Why, too, are only four shares made?

48. 6.7. *ššš* is doubtless the grain or seed mentioned in the medical papyri, e.g. Hearst, 9.2-3, Berlin Med., 4.10, &c. Cf. BRUGSCH, *Wb.*, p. 1430 and *Suppl.* p. 1226.

49. 6.13. *ꜥ* is here a noun. We might almost translate 'There was as much as 6 kite' or 'quite 6 kite'. For *bꜥnw* and *dis* used of objects of precious stone mounted or set in gold see Pap. Harris, 32b.13 and 52b.2 and 6.

50. 6.19. For 'bread' used as a thieves' euphemism for plunder cf. 1.9, 3.4 and notes thereto. Also 6.4 and perhaps 14.6.

51. 6.20. *ms-ḥr*. Cf. PEET, *Mayer Papyri A and B*, p. 20, note 3.

52. 7.5. For *pꜥ mdw špsī* see Berlin *Wb.*, ii. 178. Here it is probably short for *pꜥ mdw špsī n 'Imn*, which, as appears from unpublished portions of Pap. Turin, P.R. lxviii-lxix, was the name of a river-boat used for the service of the chief priest of Amūn. Can *tꜥi* mean 'to wear'?

53. 7.7. In view of 10403, 3.13, *iw-f mī wmt hps n rmt* 'it was as thick as a man's arm', this must surely mean 'as thick as *theb*-vases of copper'. The plural *iw-w*, however, suggests that before *hd* something like *hnw n* 'vessels of' is omitted. It is hard to see how 'some silver' could be described as of the thickness of vases of copper.

53. 7.12. *P3smdt* must be a proper name. The word *smdt* meaning 'personnel' or 'staff' is presumably feminine, and in papyri of this period is used in the plural.

55. 8.5. Late Egyptian seems to possess at least three separate words written *inn*, as here, though the Berlin *Wb.* recognizes only one. They are as follows.





1. Independent Pronoun, 1st Person Plural, e.g. Pap. Anastasi VIII, 1. 15 and Pap. Leiden 370, vs. line 8, B.M. 10052, 3.8.

2. A writing of the negative *inw*. Pap. Mallet, 5.8, Pap. Bibl. Nat. 198, iii.16 and perhaps Pap. Anastasi VIII, 3 vs. 1.

3. A word with the meaning 'if', 'when', 'whether'. Pap. Mayer A, 2.15 and 8.8: Pap. B.M. 10052, 8.5, 11.12, 12.18 and 13.5: Pap. B.M. 10375, vs. 1: Pap. Abbott, 6.2: Berlin Ostrakon 10628, 4: Pap. Leiden 370, vs. 14. Other probable examples in difficult or damaged contexts are Pap. Bibl. Nat. 198, ii.12: Pap. Anastasi VI, 4.5.

It is not impossible that in the meaning of 'if' the word is merely a writing of the particle *in* and that it acquired its conditional meaning from its use in questions. Thus in the present passage there is little difference in English between the two versions 'Am I to be put to death for the tombs of Iumiteru, (for) they are the tombs in which I was' and 'If I am to be put to death for the tombs of Iumiteru (so be it): they are the tombs in which I was', i.e. 'I have not been in the Theban tombs, but if death is the penalty even for the less important tombs at Iumiteru then I must die.'

56. 8.5. See note on 10403, 1.27 (p. 174).

57. 8.7. It is not easy to see in what sense the silver should be 'bad'. Possibly it was not up to the standard of purity required in the silver commonly used as a basis of exchange at this period. On the other hand *bin* might just possibly mean 'dishonestly come by'. For the whole of this incident see Pap. Mayer A, 9.16 ff., where read Pnūfer for Sanefer and *bin* for *bi* in line 17, and  Δε  for  Δε  in line 18.

58. 8.9. Read *st-hms*. Cf. Golenishchef Glossary, 5.13, and Pap. B.M. 10102, 10. 13. In his later account as recorded in Mayer A, the witness says that they took him into a storeroom, *šnc*.

59. 8.9. *sh* is clearly the word which occurs several times in Pap. B.M. 10474 (LANGE, *Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenope*, note on p. 74). In its transitive use it seems to mean 'to get the better of', 'to cheat or defraud'. See *ibid.* 15.20 and 20.21.

60. 8.9. The writing of *hft* is curious, but the use of *hft* for *hr-f* stand-

ing for *dd-hr-f* is not uncommon. See BOTTI-PEET, *Il Giornale*, p. 49, note 3.

61. 8.12. *r kṛ n* clearly means 'near' or 'beside' (also below in a damaged context 13.26). It is probably to be identified with *r kṛ n*, which occurs Turin Judiciary Pap., 4.12 in precisely the same sense. Cf. too Wenamon 1.22, *ḫw-ṯ šm kṛ nf* 'I went into his presence'. Brugsch *Wb.*, 1467 and *Suppl.* 1258 quotes three examples of what he calls a verb *kṛi* (Semitic *kll*) with which this word may be connected.

62. 8.13. A guess. The definitely causative meaning of the preposition *n* prevents our translating 'What had they to do with me?' or similar.

63. 8.15. For *Hfsw*, if this be the right reading, see Golenishchef Glossary 4.14, Abbott, 8 A.9. Also *Ä.Z.*, xlvii, p. 47. A town not far south of Gebelên.

64. 8.20. The reading is not certain and the grammar unsatisfactory. The sense seems to be that the witness 'knows' what the death of a criminal is like, for he had seen the thieves put to death under the vizier Khaemwēse; consequently he is not likely to have committed any crime deserving that punishment.

65. 8.21-2. The sentence seems elliptical, but it probably contains a further reference to the punishment of the thieves under Khaemwēse. 'You have had the beatings which they had', says the vizier, 'but if any one comes and accuses you I will inflict (*iri-ṯ*) on you the death as well'.

66. 9.1. See note on Abbott 8 A.7 (p. 134).

67. 10.1. Restore in accordance with Mayer A, 3.12.

68. 10.4. No other reading than *hr* seems possible. But meaning? Can *Pḥr* be a man's name?

69. 10.4-5. See note on Amherst, 3.3 (p. 51).

70. 10.5. The name may read *Hcpḥ*.

71. 10.6. The reading *inn* 'ours' is not certain, and the syntax and translation of the whole sentence are doubtful.

72. 10.8. *ššš*. See note on 3.16 (pp. 160-1).

73. 10.15. For *mḏr* see Berlin *Wb.*, ii. 189. Here the meaning is clearly concrete.

74. 10.18. For this town see Golenishchef Glossary, 5.6. It is identical with Cynopolis (see GRIFFITH, *Rylands Papyri*, III, p. 88, note 2).

75. 11.6. For this phrase cf. 1.6.

76. 11. 11-12. The *n* before *nṣt-irmt* stands for *in*. It makes no sense to translate 'I do not know the tombs of my men who (or which) are in the West'. 'My men' must be the soldiers of the army, of which Ankhefenamūn and his brother were scribes (Abbott, 8 B. 18-19). See, too, 12.4-5 below. For *inn* see note 55. *ṯ* with a fem. possessive pronoun before it must surely be a writing of *ṯwt* 'theft', 'crime'. The suffix *f* of *mntf* may be defended as being neuter.

77. 11.21. A comparison of the uses of *grt* in these papyri (10052, 11.21, 12.18, 12.21 and 14.17: Mayer A, 8.7-9 and 9.4) makes it quite certain that it is a verb meaning 'to tell lies'. In the present passage the witness says 'Don't tell lies, it is quite untrue', while in 14.17, as in Mayer A, 8.8-9, he says 'If you bid me lie I will lie,' i.e. 'I have told the truth, but if you continue to beat me I must invent some story to obtain release from the torment'. This verb may be quite distinct from the well-known *grw* 'to be narrow' or 'in want of'. See note 98.

78. 12.3. This place seems to be unknown.

79. 12.4. Cf. Golenishcheff Glossary, 5.3-4. For the reading see *Ä.Z.*, xlvii, pp. 44 ff.

80. 12.7. i.e. Efnamūn's brother, for see Mayer A, 5.18.

81. 12.8. Kerbaal, as his name shows, is a Syrian. The point of his remark is 'Syria, whence I came, is bad enough' (for Egyptian views of the hardships of Syria see *J. E. A.*, ii, p. 14), 'Ethiopia is worse. I will not commit a crime which may end in my being sent there.'

82. 12.19. I.e. by the same modes of torture. This meaning seems to me certain. The reading *mhrw* is virtually beyond doubt, despite the incompletely formed $\overline{\text{m}}$, for which parallels can be found. The alternative to the group $\overline{\text{m}}$ is $\overline{\text{w}}$, which makes no sense. *tw-w* is clear, and so, too, is $\overline{\text{t}}$. Before this stands the least certain group, a faded and partly invisible ligature which must stand for $\overline{\text{c}}$. For *mhrw* see Berlin *Wb.*, ii. 134: the transition from the common meaning of 'care' to that of 'means' required in the present passage is not a difficult one. As to the syntax of the phrase, since *mhrw* is undetermined the succeeding *tw-w twt* can be used relatively. *twt* will of course be the Old Perf. of the adjective verb 'to be like'.

83. 12.22. I.e. the witness, Dhutemhab. As he is on the staff of the temple of Month the court summons a priest of the temple, who they think is likely to get more information out of him. See too line 11 above, and Mayer A, 9.10.

84. 12.26-7. The lacunae are easily filled. At the beginning of l. 26 read *t-di* (active participle plural) *nk*. At the beginning of 27 read *nti tw-f sħr-i* and later in the same line after *p; nti nb* complete $\overline{\text{p}} \overline{\text{c}} \overline{\text{t}} \overline{\text{w}} \overline{\text{f}}$. The meaning is clear, though the order *sw nk* is strange. 'I received in sooth' in line 26 is clearly ironical, and the witness adds 'If an accuser can be found who says he gave me any silver I will admit that I received it'. In other words his conscience is clear and he knows that no one can accuse him.

85. 13.12. *sni hr* here and in 14.24 in the sense of 'to have to do with' is new and strange. Can there be confusion with *snsn* 'to frequent the company of?'

86. 13.26. See note on 8.12 (p. 165).

87. 14.1. This line will not translate as it stands, and the fact that the last words *m dd-tn* are a later addition in blacker ink suggests that they

should replace the unintelligible *mdī* before *hm Dgīl*. We then get exactly the same phrase which is used of the same Degay in Mayer A, 4.13 and 4.15.

88. 14.3. *rk* is given in the Berlin *Wb.*, i. 213 as meaning 'a measure for fruit, &c.' Here it must be a basket or similar, and its determinative shows that this was the original meaning and that its use as a measure is derivative.

89. 14.3. Reading uncertain. See Corrections to Plates.

90. 14.3. See note on 4.26 (note 34). Here the meaning 'land which has just emerged from the water' suits well, for we see in line 7 that there are pools of water on it.

91. 14.4. *nr* is a not uncommon word for a small stone or pebble (Berlin *Wb.*, i. 208, *nr*). But what is a pebble doing in this context? Is it possible that 'I never trod on this pebble' was a proverbial expression for 'I had nothing to do with this matter'?

92. 14.6. *kw* may of course be literally 'bread', but it is more probably used as before for 'plunder'. Cf. 1.9, 3.4, 6.19.

93. 14.8-9. A difficult passage, though the general meaning is clear. Unfortunately the feminine noun *sīš* is not known, but it is clearly used figuratively, 'Fill yourself with my courage in this evil moment (or similar) of examination'. *wrti* is a further trouble. Does it mean 'solitary' in the sense of 'with none by to support' or single with the meaning 'which happens only once'? On this point the *mp* *wc sp* of line 20 below may have a bearing.

If the personal suffix in *hsty-i* could be neglected we might perhaps render 'Fill yourself with courage from this well (?)', namely that examination is single (i.e. only happens once). *wrti* would however be a curious form for the required Old Perf. of *wc*.

94. 14.11. For this incident, also related in Mayer A, 5.9 ff., but apparently foreign to the main matter of the trial, compare 10054, ro. 2.1 ff. and 3.1 ff. That these two latter passages both refer to one and the same incident it is almost impossible to doubt. On the other hand it is not equally certain that the incident described in the Mayer A and 10052 passages is identical with this, though some of the persons concerned are the same. Thus in 10052 Penekhtemōpe gives the names of three thieves whom he ferried, Uaresi, Penekhtresi and Itnūfer (Mayer A mentions no names). In 10054, ro. 3.1 ff. a list of six, not three, names is given, three of which are those found in the list of 10052. The amount of the reward given to the ferryman also varies. Even if, despite these discrepancies, only one incident is involved in all these four passages very little can be inferred from it as to the chronological relation between the papyri, for, as has been seen above, it is in most cases impossible to tell what length of time elapsed between the thefts chronicled in these papyri and the bringing to trial of the criminals.

95. 14.13. The omission of *m* before *mhnti* can hardly be called a scribe's error. See *Ä.Z.*, lvi, p. 63.

96. 14.14. For this place see 4.29 and note.




97. 14.15. The natural reading of this king's name would be *Hpr-mꜣrt-rc* with the *mꜣrt* sign reduced to little more than a stroke, as for example in the name *Wsr-mꜣrt-rc* in 10054, vs. 5.18. The consequences of this reading for the date of the papyrus would be most important, for Khepermarē is Ramesses X, and the document would have to be placed either in his reign or later, with an obvious corollary regarding the date of the *whm mswt*, in which the trial is dated.

Unfortunately the parallel passage in 10054, ro. 3.3 gives the royal name as *ꜣhpr-rc* (Tuthmosis I or II intended) and there is thus a strong suspicion that the group *ꜣ* has been omitted by our scribe, and that the stroke which we might read *mꜣrt* is only the first of the group standing for *ꜣnh*, *wꜣꜥ*, *snb*.

98. 14.17. For *gꜣt* see note 77 on 11.21. If the writing is sound we have here a feminine infinitive with suffix, *gꜣt-i*. In this case the verb must be used transitively, 'calumniate me'.

99. 14.20. It seems natural to translate *m pꜣ wr sp* by its English colloquial equivalent 'just this once'. If this is right it is possible that *wrti* above in line 9 should be rendered 'single' in the sense of happening only once, rather than 'solitary'. *wꜣꜥ-tw* in the following sentence is a 1st sing. Old Perf.

100. 14.25. For this incident see note on Abbott Dockets 8 B.5.

101. 15.8. This is probably the form *i-ir-tw* to which I called attention in *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, xi, p. 338. It has strong future meaning and is generally translatable by 'until'. It is usually followed by the infinitive of the verb whose future it is desired to express, and consequently the construction used here, *i-ir-tw twtw gm*, is puzzling. Had it become a mere conjunction 'until' by this time? If so we might in 10054, ro. 2.4 read  as *i-ir-tw tw-n (iy)* instead of taking  for  (as often in these papyri) and reading *i-ir-tw-n iy*. Other examples are Wenamon 2.36 (preceded by *ꜣꜣ*), Pap. Turin, P.R. xvi. 7, Amherst, 4.3, Pap. D'Orbiney, 14.6 and 17.10, Harris 500, vs. 4.13, and Pap. Turin 1880, ro. 3.17 (P.R. xlvi, collated), where the prince of Nō says to the hungry workmen 'I will give you 50 *khar* of spelt to keep you alive until Pharaoh gives you rations (*i-ir-tw Pr-ꜣ dit ntn di*).

102. 15.10. The witness is a scribe and the Place of Thoth is therefore doubtless the record office of the temple.

103. 15.13. It is not easy to understand the relevance of this evidence. To the question whether his father ever broke into the tombs he seems to reply with a list of slaves which his father had bought. The reading *wtnw* can hardly be in doubt, despite the redundant *ꜣ* before the plural strokes. The same man's examination in Mayer A is equally obscure.

104. 15.14. The name of the town is uncertain. See Corrections to Plates. For its second element see *Ä.Z.*, xlvii, p. 51.

PAPYRUS MAYER A

On Pl. XXIV are printed a number of corrections of the readings of this papyrus given in *The Mayer Papyri A and B*. These are the fruit of three fresh collations of the original during the last six years in the light of the new knowledge gained from B.M. 10052.

PAPYRUS B.M. 10403

DESCRIPTION AND CONTENTS

This document consists of a fine sheet of papyrus 45 cm. high and 35 broad, apparently intact on every side.* On the recto there stands on the right a tall column of thirty short lines (p. 1) and on the left a short column of only five lines (p. 2), the space below this being blank. On the verso is a single column of thirty-one lines (p. 3), written the opposite way up to those on the recto. The handwriting is remarkably like that of Pap. 10052 and Mayer A, but differences in the forms of certain crucial signs, and variants in spelling, such as *bꜣ-dꜣ-r* for the *bꜣ-dꜣ-nꜣ* of 10052, prevent our ascribing 10403 to the same writer as the other two.

Mayer A and 10403 are very closely connected in content. 10403 is headed 'Year 2 in the Repeating of Births, fourth summer month, day 16 (a year and a day later than the first date of Mayer A): taking the depositions of the thieves of the portable chest in the temple by the scribe of the Necropolis Nesamenōpe.' This Nesamenōpe was one of the examining board both in Mayer A and in B.M. 10052, and almost the first words of the evidence show that we are dealing with thefts very similar to those of the portable-chest sections of Mayer A, and committed in part by the same thieves. The porter Ahautinūfer is asked to tell the names of all men whom he saw go into 'this place and do damage to the fittings (?) of this portable chest'. He accuses one Pentehetnakht who, he says, knows all about the affair of the portable chest of Ramessesnakht, and he adds that the authors of this crime are the same men who damaged the portable chest of Ramesses II and the *gs-pr* of Seti. Pentehetnakht is brought, and describes in detail the attack on the portable chest of Ramessesnakht. Now there

* Bought from Vasalli in 1856 and stated in the B.M. register to have been found at Thebes.

are two possible interpretations of the opening lines of the papyrus between which it is not easy to decide. The crucial words are those of Ahautinūfer in lines 6-9, 'Those who did this (i.e. robbed the chest of Ramessesnakht) are likewise the men who did the damage to the portable chest of Usimarē and to this *gs-pr* of Seti.' These words suggest two possibilities:

(1) The present trial actually concerns the chest of Ramessesnakht, and Ahautinūfer suggests the questioning on this matter of Pentehetnakht, adding *quite incidentally* that the culprits are the same gang who damaged the portable chest of Ramesses II and the *gs-pr* of Seti.

(2) The present trial concerns not the chest of Ramessesnakht, but either that of Ramesses II or the *gs-pr* of Seti, assuming that this last is also a portable chest of some kind. Ahautinūfer suggests that the best way to get at the truth is to question Pentehetnakht about the chest of Ramessesnakht, since the men whom he implicates in that matter will be precisely the men who committed the other crime, and they can accordingly be brought to justice.

The first is perhaps the more straightforward explanation, but since the papyrus is a mere fragment it is not easy to be certain, and it is therefore wiser not to rule out completely the alternative.

In either case the evidence actually given on pages 1 and 2 clearly refers to the chest of Ramessesnakht and to that only, and in the absence of any indication to the contrary it seems likely that that given on page 3 refers to the same crime. This being the case it is a somewhat disconcerting fact that any one who will turn to Mayer A, 2.1-9 and 6.20-25 will at first sight be convinced that the same events are there being described as in the evidence of Pentehetnakht in 10403. Yet how can this be, for Mayer A is not concerned, at least if we may trust its heading, with the portable chest of Ramessesnakht, but only with that of Ramesses II and with the *gs-pr* (possibly itself a kind of portable chest) of Seti I? The solution of this difficulty is probably that the events described in the two papyri are not actually the same despite a strong superficial resemblance due to the identity of the chief actors and the similarity of the setting. The two Mayer passages clearly refer to one and the same incident, in which Peibek and Tetisheri bring out two rings of some kind,* and sell them on the

* Not necessarily pole-rings: see the proposed new reading of Mayer A, 6.24 in Plate XXIV.

spot to Ker and Anefsu. In 10403 Peibek and Tetisheri take two pole-rings of copper and lay them in the *r n: prw* (?) whatever this may be. Clearly this is not necessarily the same incident as in Mayer A. Thus when we come to analyse the matter we find nothing in 10403 to show that the Mayer passages refer to the portable chest of Ramessesnakht.

TRANSLATION (Plates XXXVI-XXXVII)

Page 1 (Pl. xxxvi)

(1) Year 2 in the Repeating of Births, fourth summer month, day 16. Taking of the deposition of (2) the thieves of the portable chest in the temple by the scribe of the Necropolis Nesamenōpe. (3) There was brought the workman Ahautinūfer of the temple of King Usimarēr Miamūn in the House of Amūn. (4) They said to him, You are the door-keeper ¹ of this place. Come tell us every man whom you saw (5) go into this place and do damage to the fittings (?) ² of (6) this portable chest. He said, Let the carpenter Pentehetnakht be brought, that he may tell you all that happened (7) to this portable chest of Ramessesnakht who was chief priest of Amūn. Those who did this (8) are likewise the men who did the damage to this portable chest of King Usimarēr Setepenrēr, (9) the Great God, and to this *gs-pr* ³ of King Menmarēr Seti. So said he, and the carpenter Pentehetnakht was brought. (10) He was given the oath by the Ruler on pain of mutilation not to (11) speak falsehood. His deposition was heard. He said, The porter Peinūfer sent the weaver Taty to me ⁴ (12) saying, Come. I went to the place where he was and he said to me, Do thou go with (13) Taty and bring off the copper of this chest ⁵ of Ramessesnakht who was chief priest of (14) Amūn. I went with him and I found the weaver Teti and the weaver (15) . . . his brother, and the boat-guard Pataenamūn, and the incense-roaster (16) Wen . . . amūn son of Userhet, and the scribe Dhutmōse son of Userhet, and the scribe Hori son of Seni, and the chief gardener (17) Ptahemhab, and the coppersmith Peison son of Amenherib, who is dead, and the scribe Peibek son of the (18) deputy Nesamūn of the temple, and the *wēb*-priest Tetisheri ⁶ son of the divine father Hori. Total of thieves, (19) 10 men, and myself the eleventh. They took up some large stones and stood (20) breaking off the ends of the poles of this portable chest of this chief priest of Amūn. (21) I said to them, Don't spoil (?) ⁷ this wood, for they had cut off the two central pole-ends, (22) one in front and one behind. And they broke off the other four (23) pole-ends, total six. It was the scribe Peibek and the *wēb*-priest Tetisheri who took (24) two pole-rings of copper and put them in the . . . ⁸ the two of them. They gave (25) us four pole-rings of copper among the 7 (*sic, read* 9) of us thieves. We divided them (26) between ourselves in the house of the citizeness Omer, ten *deben* of copper

falling to the share of each man (27) among us, making 90 *deben* of copper. But the foreigner Peiser of Iumiteru⁹ (28) along with the foreigner Horemwēse of the temple of Seti came to me saying, Give up (29) this copper which was given to you. So said they to me, and the foreigner Peiser took (30) my 10 *deben* of copper and the foreigner Horemwēse of the temple of Sati took

Page 2 (Pl. xxxvi-xxxvii)

(1) the 10 *deben* of copper belonging to the coppersmith Peison son of Amenherib. (2) The scribe Dhutmōse and the scribe Hori son of Seni stole for themselves the (3) copper casing¹⁰ of this chest, the two of them together. He took (4) an oath by the Ruler saying, All that I say is true, and if I be found (5) to have spoken falsehood let me be placed on the wood.

Page 3 (Pl. xxxvii)

(1) The citizeness Taaper was brought. She was examined by beating with the stick. (2) They said to her, Come tell the story of this piece of copper which you said was in the possession of (3) the field labourer Peikharu son of Peshnemeh, and he cut off half of it¹¹ (4) and sold <it>, and about which <you> went to the house of the district officer Amenkhau (5) and told it to him. She said, I said to the district officer Amenkhau, Now I happened to be sitting (6) hungry under the sycamores¹² and the men chanced to be trading copper (7) as we were sitting hungry. So said I to him. Behold he told the matter (8) to Peikharu, I did not tell it.


9) The field labourer Peikharu son of Peshnemeh was brought. He was examined by beating with the stick and his feet and hands were twisted. He was given the oath by the Ruler (11) on pain of mutilation not to speak falsehood. They said to him, Come tell us the story (12) of this . . .¹³ of copper which the citizeness Taaper says was in your possession, (13) and which was as thick as a man's arm, and you cut off half of it and sold it. (14) He said, False, I never saw this portable chest with my eye and there is no (15) one who will accuse <me>. He was again examined by beating with the stick. (16) He said, I did not see. The scribe Nesamenōpe said to him, But it was you who saw the piece of copper. (17) [He said], I did not see it. [They said to] him, [As to] . . . the son of Menti this foreigner, (18) [tell] me all that you saw in his possession which was said to belong to this portable chest. (19) He said, What I saw was some things belonging to the scribe Pentehetnakht (20) which he had brought off and was carrying to the house of the divine father Amenkhau. I saw nothing else.

(22) There was brought the citizeness Shedehnakht the wife of the field labourer Peikharu who was a maid-servant (?) (23) with the *wēb*-priest and thief Tetisheru. She was examined by beating with the stick; (24) her feet and hands were twisted. She was given the oath by the Ruler on pain of

mutilation (25) not to speak falsehood. They said to her, When you were a maid-servant with the *wēb*-priest and thief Tetisheri (26) it was you who opened for those who went in and closed for those who (27) went out, being as one of them (?);¹⁴ tell me of men whom you saw (28) go into this store-room in which the portable chest was in order to damage it. She said, I did not see it. (25) If I had seen I would tell you. She was examined again (30) by beating with the stick. She was given the oath by the Ruler not to speak falsehood. (31) She said, I saw no one at all. If I had seen I would tell you.

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

1. 1. 4. *mntl*. Clearly the forerunner of the Coptic *ἡνοῦτ*, a porter (SPIEG. *Kopt. Handwörterb.*, p. 62) and Demotic *mntl*, I Khamuas, 4.7. It must be derived from the rare word *mnt* a doorway (of a tomb) in BOTTI-PEET, *Il Giornale*, Pl. 24, 8.9.

2. 1.5. *ipt*. The slanting stroke must stand for some unusual or slightly complicated determinative which the scribe was too idle to write.  would give a known word, 'corn-measure', and the writing of this word with the stroke is even vouched for by the Berlin *Wb.*, i. 67. But what could corn-measures have to do with the portable chest? Another possibility is that the stroke stands for *Δ*. In this case we would seem to have here the much discussed *ipt* of Pap. Westcar. Now Gardiner has shown with probability, *J.E.A.*, xi, pp. 2-5, that this word means 'secret chambers' or similar, though Spiegelberg in his *Kopt. Handwb.*, p. 27, still adheres to Erman's suggestion (*Ä.Z.*, xxxvi, pp. 146-7) that the word means 'bolts' or the like, though doubtfully. Neither 'secret chambers' nor 'bolts' would suit very well in our case, for the evidence given by the witnesses shows that what was damaged was the rings on the carrying poles, and possibly also the copper casing (*kk*). Perhaps some general word like 'fittings' or '(metal) covering' may be intended. Cf. 10053, vs. 1.10 and note (p. 120).

3. 1.9. *gs-pr*. The reading is clear, and shows that I was wrong in reading 'The Forty Houses' in Mayer A, 1.2. The absence of the *n* which ought to follow the numeral 40 did arouse my suspicions, but the omission of the stroke after *gs* blinded me to the truth.

It is clear that *gs-pr* cannot bear here its Middle Kingdom meaning. The *gs-pr* of Seti lies with the *pr-n-st* of Ramesses in the treasury of the temple of Ramesses III. It is therefore not a building but something smaller, and since the *gs-pr* and the *pr-n-st* seem in Mayer A, 1.4 and 10 to be included under the plural *prw-st*, it is not impossible that it was simply a portable chest of special form to which a special name was given.

It can have nothing to do with the hieroglyphic writing *gs-pr* as a variant for demotic *r-pr* 'temple' in Greek times, see SPIEGELBERG, *Kanopus und Memphis* (Rosettana), p. 106.

4. 1.11. Or, if there is really an *n* before *šht*, 'sent to me and to the weaver Taty'.

5. 1.13. *šfd*. The demonstrative both here and in 2.3 shows it to be a feminine word, and from the context it is clearly some portion of the *pr-n-s*. It must therefore be the noun which occurs in GARDINER, *Admonitions*, 7.2 in the form *šfdt* and in DAVIES, *Tomb of Antefoker*, Plate XXI. Here, in a representation of a funeral procession, we have actually a picture of a coffin being carried on a *šfdt*, which is seen to be precisely a tray with carrying-poles, borne on the shoulders of nine men. May not the word be derived from *šfd* 'to grasp', which occurs 10068, ro. 1.8. Cf. GARDINER, *Pap. Anastasi I*, p. 8, n. 12, and example there quoted.

6. 1.18. *Tti-šri*. The group $\textcircled{11}$ is quite clear, and the name is thus Tetisheri, and not Tauisheri as I read it in Mayer A. The confusion between $\textcircled{11}$, $\textcircled{11}$ and $\textcircled{11}$ in cursive New Kingdom Hieratic is complete, and has been aided by their significations. The ending of the dual number $\textcircled{11}$ is easily confounded with $\textcircled{11}$, which also marks duality, and $\textcircled{11}$ becomes involved in the same confusion, since it frequently determines parts of the body which are of the dual number.

7. 1.21. *wh*. A difficult passage, for *wh* does not mean 'to damage' but 'to escape from' or 'to fail'. No transitive examples parallel to ours seem to be known. What is more, *tw šd-w* ought to introduce a subordinate circumstantial clause, *tw sḏmf* being, with the rarest exceptions, never used in principal clauses in Late Egyptian: yet such a rendering seems unsuitable here. What in any case was the object of the Pentehetnakht's interposition in the matter? The thieves had gone down armed with stones to smash off the copper rings or sheaths with which the six ends of the three carrying-poles were fitted. Did he wish to persuade them to get the rings off with as little damage as possible to the wood? And should we translate 'I said to them, Don't damage the wood, for they had cut off the two pole-ends of the central pole, and were now breaking off the other four?' Yet *sḏw* can mean 'cut' as well as 'break', see GARDINER, *Inscr. of Mes*, note 56. In any case the *hst nbntw* are clearly identical with the *škw* of ll. 24 and 25.

8. 1.24. A complete puzzle.

9. 1.27. Near the modern Gebelên. See Sethe in *Ä.Z.*, xlvii, p. 47.

10. 2.3. *kk*. The verb *kk*, Coptic KWH 'to pare' or 'peel', is used in these papyri of stripping metal foil or casing from an object (10054, ro. 1.9, note, p. 66). The noun *kk* would therefore seem to be the word for the copper 'casing' or covering of the chest. Cf. 10054, ro. 3.7 and note (p. 68).

11. 3.3. See Corrections to Plates. Černý's reading *gs* for *cnh* is certainly right, both here and in l. 13. 3.13 shows that *tw-f* is to be read for *tw-s* at the beginning of line 4.

12. 3.6. These sycamores must have been a well-known locality in

Thebes. But why does the woman state that she was sitting hungry? Does she mean that she was begging?

13. 3.12. For *in* cf. Mayer A, 1.16 (corrected reading on Pl. XXIV). It may be a name for the ring (*šḳ*) of copper, which, as we learn in the next line, was as thick as a man's arm, which fits very well with its provenance from the carrying-pole of the chest.

14. 3.27. The translation tentatively suggested would at least require *iw-t* with suffix 2 Fem. Sing.) instead of *iw*. The words seem more likely to be an unknown phrase for 'every single one of them' or similar.

GROUP VI

IN this group is to be placed the fragment known as Papyrus Mayer B, bearing the number M. 11186 in the Liverpool Free Public Museums. This is part of a confession of robberies in the tomb of Ramesses VI. It has been described and translated in *The Papyri Mayer A and B*, pp. 19-20. Unfortunately it cannot be brought into historical connexion with the papyri of any other group. Four* persons are mentioned by name in it, the foreigners Pais and Nesamūn, the coppersmiths Pentehetnakht and Hori. A coppersmith Hori occurs in 10052, 16.16, but the name is very common, and we should not be justified in drawing any conclusions from the coincidence.

* Five, if *Pi bk fri* in line 9 is really a name and does not simply mean 'the young servant', as the absence of the man determinative after *fri* would perhaps indicate.

GROUP VII

UNDER this head is treated a papyrus formerly in the Ambras collection (hence known as Pap. Ambras), and now numbered 30 in the papyrus collection of the Vienna Museum. Attention was first drawn to it by Brugsch in an article called *Hieratischer Papyrus zu Wien* in the *Ä.Z.* for 1876, pp. 1 ff. He states that he found it in 1872 among a wilderness of papyrus fragments which had been laid on one side. With the insight which was typical of him he diagnosed very accurately its nature and contents, and gave an admirable translation of the greater part of it. A facsimile was published by Von Bergmann in his *Hieratische u. hieratisch-demotische Texte*, Vienna, 1886, No. 6.*

PAPYRUS AMBRAS

DESCRIPTION AND CONTENTS

The papyrus is said to measure 38 cm. by 18 cm. and is inscribed on one side only. It has every appearance of being complete. There are two pages, one of nine lines and the other of twelve. The script is exceedingly neat and regular: it is easy to transcribe, though a few words are written in very summary form. Translation is less easy, and for its size the document presents a disproportionately large number of puzzles.

It is dated in the sixth year of the *whm mswt* or Renaissance, this being the highest date in that epoch as yet known to us. No month and day are given, a curious omission which, together with other puzzling features, leads us to believe that the writer, however neat his script, was a careless fellow. Unfortunately the translation of the first two lines, which should explain the purport of the document, is far from certain. 'Examination of the documents of the *h*.... which the chief of the *št* bought from the men of the land, which were in the two *kb*-vases.' Leaving aside for the moment the question of the word beginning with *h*, the natural interpretation of these words would seem to be that certain documents stored in two vases had been found by the 'people of the land', which seems to be only a general term for the ordinary

* I have not seen the original, but have worked from a good photograph which Professor Junker kindly sent me. Černý has collated my text with his own transcription of the original. See Corrections to Plates.

people of Egypt, or perhaps specifically of Thebes, and bought from them by an official. Possibly these documents, which from their nature would seem to have belonged to the archives of the temple of Ramesses III, had been lost or stolen from there during the troubled times towards the end of the reign of Ramesses IX, had been found by peasants, and were now being bought back for the state or for the temple. But what is the word which begins with *h*? It can hardly be *hwttw*, which is never written in this way in the hieratic of this period. Other possibilities are *htrw* 'taxes' and *hsbw* 'accounts', but neither of these will suit, for the documents have, with the possible exception of the first two, nothing to do with either taxes or accounts. Perhaps *hstw* 'the blessed ones', i.e. 'the dead' (cf. Abbott, 1.4 and 4.1) is the correct reading. For an almost equally cursive writing of *hswt* 'praises' see Pap. Turin, P.R. 112.5.

The first jar contained documents which are of somewhat various content, and are consequently not grouped, like those in the second, under any general heading. The first two documents in it (1.3-4) are called *fdnw*, an unknown word; the sentence which describes them seems to be defective grammatically, and the addition in line 4 'which the chief of the *št* bought from the people of the land' must surely be an erroneous repetition from line 2, for we have been told already that all the documents were bought from the people of the land, and there is no point in repeating it in the case of these two and these two alone. All we can say is that they dealt with silver. The third document (1.5) is a record of an inspection made by a prophet Amenkhau of the wreaths of Amūn-khnem-neheh. What these wreaths were is quite unknown to us. With regard to the next group of documents there is no difficulty. In 1.6 we read of the records of the Medīnat Habu temple of Ramesses III.* These must have been of a similar nature to the temple records found at El-Lāhūn, most of which are now in Berlin, and it is particularly unfortunate that

* The conjecture of Struve (*Aegyptus*, vii, pp. 17 ff.) that the document meant is the great Harris Papyrus seems to me most improbable. I fail to see how the Harris Papyrus, containing as it does a list of the benefactions of King Ramesses III to temples in various parts of Egypt, could possibly be described as 'the records of the Temple of Usimarēf Miamūn in the House of Amūn' which is the full name of the Temple of Medīnat Habu. Hölscher's belief, on which Struve's conjecture is in part based, that these words mean 'The castle (palace) of Usimarēf Miamūn in the Temple of Amūn', and refer to the royal dwelling place which Hölscher's excavations show to have existed within the temple area at Medīnat Habu, is contradicted by the use of the words for the temple as a whole not only in this group of papyri but in all others of this period.

they have not come down to us. Lines 7 and 8 speak of another papyrus, apparently a duplicate of the last, and of four small rolls also bearing temple records. None of the nine papyri found in the first jar have survived.

In the second jar were 'documents concerning the thieves' (2.1). The first (2.2-3) is a 'record of receipt of the gold, silver, and copper which the Necropolis workers were found to have stolen'. The tomb from which these thefts took place is not specified, and we cannot therefore identify the document with certainty. If, however, it is not Pap. B.M. 10068, ro. it must have been a very similar document. The next papyrus, (2.4) 'The inspection of the tombs', can hardly be other than Pap. Abbott. Then follows (2.5-6) a document called 'The examination of the men found to have *wsh is* on the West of Thebes': the obscurity of the phrase *wsh is* (see note on translation *ad loc.*) prevents us from attempting to identify this. The papyrus called 'The examination concerning the tomb of King Sekhemrêshedtaui' (2.7) can hardly be any other than Pap. Amherst. That which follows it (2.8) is 'The examination concerning the tomb of the great army commander undergone by the coppersmith Uaresi', if our translation be correct (see note *ad loc.*). This coppersmith may well be the man referred to under the name Pauaresi in Pap. B.M. 10054, ro. 3.2, where he is accused of having gone with certain others to rob the tombs of the West of Thebes. The same or a similar incident is referred to in B.M. 10052, 14.11 ff., where the name is given as Uaresi. In neither case, however, is there any reference to the tomb of a great army commander, and we therefore cannot identify the Ambras document with either 10052 or 10054. A coppersmith Pauaresi also occurs 10054, vs. 5.9 and BOTTI-PÉET, *Il Giornale*, Tav. 56, ll. 8-9.

The document of 2.10, 'List of the depositions concerning the copper and the things which the thieves had sold out of this Place of Beauty', must surely be Pap. B.M. 10053, ro., the nature of which is described in 10053, ro. 1.4 in almost identical words. The 'list of the thieves' of 2.11 does not seem to have survived, for though we have lists of thieves in various papyri we have no papyrus which consists solely of such a list. The last document, (2.12) 'The examination of the foreigner Paikēh son of (?) Setekhemhab', is also lost. Mayer A, 11.14 mentions a servant (*šmsw*) called Paikēh but does not give us any information which might

make it even probable that he is the same man who appears in Ambras.

So ends the second list, consisting of eight documents concerned with the thieves. Of these we can identify three with comparative certainty, namely Abbott, Amherst, and 10053, ro. The case of 10068 is more problematical.

The most striking fact about these identifications is that they all refer to two early groups of robberies, either the Abbott-Amherst group or the B.M. 10053, ro. and Turin group, which cover the sixteenth and seventeenth years of Neferkerêr. This does not in itself give us any reason for believing that any or all of the tomb-robbery documents not mentioned here are later than the sixth year of the Renewal of Births, the date of our list. Some of them obviously are not, being dated in the first and second years of that epoch. In any case those concerning years 16 and 17 of Neferkerêr may well have been stored in the same vase together and so lost together. There is, however, a further point. If we are right in identifying the papyrus of 2.10 with 10053, ro. how is it that the description given makes no mention of the text on the verso? The simplest explanation seems to be to suppose that when the scribe of Ambras made his list the verso of 10053 was not inscribed. If this is the case then the date Year 9 of 10053, vs. 2.1 must refer either to the *whm mswt* or to an epoch or reign still later than this, a dating to which there seems no objection on other grounds. Similarly if we are right in equating the document of 2.2-3 with the recto of 10068 then the texts on the verso of this papyrus ought to be later than the date of Ambras. These and other chronological consequences which would follow if the view of the Ambras papyrus here propounded be correct have been already discussed both in the General Introduction (p. 4) and in the treatment of the individual papyri.

TRANSLATION (Plate XXXVIII)

Page 1 (Pl. XXXVIII)

- (1) Year six in the Renaissance. Examination¹ of the records of the men of old² which (2) the chief of the *št*³ bought⁴ from the people,⁵ which were in the jars. (3) The two rolls (?) which <bore> the records of the silver of the men of old,⁶ (4) which the chief of the *št* bought from the people. (5) The record of the examination which the priest Amenkhau made of the wreaths of Amūn-endowed-with-Eternity.

- (6) The records of the temple of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usimarē-Miamūn in the House of Amūn.
 (7) The other papyrus on which was a copy of the records.
 (8) The four small papyrus rolls on which the records were.
 (9) Total: papyrus rolls which were in the jar,⁷ nine documents.

Page 2 (Pl. xxxviii)

- (1) The documents concerning the thieves, which were in the other jar.
 (2) Record of receipt of the gold and the silver and the copper which
 (3) the workmen of the Necropolis were found to have stolen: 1.
 (4) The examination of the pyramid-tombs: 1.
 (5) The examination of the men who were found to have violated (?) (6)
 a tomb⁸ in the West (?) of Nō.
 (7) The examination concerning⁹ the pyramid of the King of Upper Egypt
 Sekhemrēshedtaui: 1.
 (8) The examination concerning⁹ the tomb of the great commander of the
 army (9) which the coppersmith Uaresi underwent.
 (10) Depositions concerning the copper¹⁰ and objects which the thieves
 sold¹¹ from this Place of Beauty: 1.
 (11) The list of the thieves: 1.
 (12) The examination of the foreigner Paiḫē son of (?) Setekhemheb: 1.

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

1. 1.1. If in place of *šn* 'to examine' *sn* is read, as is palaeographically possible, it must be identified with the word used in 10383, 3.1.

2. 1.1. See above, p. 178.

3. 1.2. *ṣ n št*. See SPIEGELBERG, *Correspondances du temps des rois-prêtres*, p. 71 and references there given. Also 10068, vs. 1.18, Golenishchef Glossary, 2.6, *ṣ n št* of the whole land (*n tṣ ḏr.f*). VON BERGMANN (*Hierat. u. hierat.-demot. Texte*, p. viii) quotes LEPSIUS, *Denkm.* iii. 219e, l. 14; Pap. Anast. v, 27. 6.

4. 1.2. *swn. int r swn* is 'to buy': the *r* is here omitted.

5. 1.2. *nṣ rmt n pṣ tṣ*. See note on 10054, vs. 2.1 (p. 70).

6. 1.3. *swn* seems a crux. The relative sentence beginning with *nti* needs a predicate which *swn* seems powerless to supply. We expect rather *hr.w* 'The two . . . s on which were the writings' &c., as in ll. 7 and 8 below. Or is the preposition *hr* omitted after *nti*? Why too are the words which follow *swn* repeated from lines 1-2? Is *swn* out of its place?

7. 1.9. Note the gender of *kb* in this and other papyri of Dyn. XX.

8. 2.5-6. *tw wṣh.w ts*. Precisely the same expression occurs Amh., 3.8. The sense required is 'plunder tomb-chambers' or similar, but it is hard to see how such a meaning could be got out of *wṣh*.

imntt. The scribe has written a sign more like the simple feather than the sign for West: doubtless he intended the latter.

9. 2.7-8. *smtr* seems rarely to be used of examining a tomb (see, however, Abbott, 6.7), which is *šp*. Consequently *smtr n p; hr* may mean 'examination concerning the tomb'. The relative *i-ir* in line 9 is puzzling. It ought to introduce the subject of *smtr* and yet it seems to give the object, for it is hardly likely that the inspection of a tomb was confided to a copper-smith.

10. 2.10. For the phrase *wtty ddt n; hmt* cf. 10053, ro. 1.4.

11. 2.10. Is *dīt* for *dīt r bnr*? 'Placed in this Place of Beauty' clearly makes no sense.

EXPLANATORY NOTES TO THE PLATES

THE transcriptions contained in the plates have been made in accordance with the principles enounced by Dr. A. H. Gardiner in his recent article in the *J.E.A.*, xv, pp. 48 ff., and any divergence from these principles, or from the suggestions made by Dr. Gardiner with regard to the rendering of particular signs, is due to inadvertence and not to design. In accordance with his principle that a transcription should be not only interpretative but also reproductive, i.e. capable of enabling the reader to reproduce as closely as possible the appearance of the original, I have often abandoned the regular square group-arrangement in order to give the less formal but characteristic grouping of the hieratic.

The lines of each page have been kept separate and arranged as in the original except in the case of B.M. 10053, vs. page 3, where conformity with this rule would have entailed great waste of space and a very ungainly arrangement, with no profit to the reader, since the text of the page consists of continuous narrative.*

Signs or groups here underlined in black are in the original written in red ink.

Textual notes are placed either beneath or on the left of the pages, according to the exigencies of space. References to these notes are made in the transcription by small figures in round brackets. A dotted line drawn beneath a group over which stands such a figure indicates, where necessary, the exact extent of the group reproduced in facsimile in the notes.

The facsimiles of hieratic groups are drawn in freehand, tracing being impossible since the papyri are all mounted under plate glass: they cannot therefore pretend to quite the same accuracy as a tracing should have. They are reproduced at about two thirds natural size.





















































Plates XXV-XXXVIII were drawn by one of my pupils, Mr. H. W. Fairman: the rest are my own work.















































In using the Plates readers should make constant reference to the Corrections and Additions on p. 184.





















































* On Pl. XVI, 10068, vs. 8 is shown in two parallel columns, instead of in a single column as in the original.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS TO PLATES

Those marked (C) are due to Černý

- I. 1. 2. Traces of  before *mrr*.
 1. 8. Insert  after *Wst*.
 1. 9. For    read  .
 1. 10. Traces of  after . Read *Bk-n-wr-l*. (C).
- III. 5. 20. Add  at end.
 6. 6. For  read .
- IV. 6. 19. After   insert .
 7. 5. For  in *idnw* read . (C).
 7. 6. After the last  add , and delete the *sic*.
- V. 2. 3. Read  (*sic*) for  in *db:kw*. (C).
 2. 4. Insert  before  in *hnw*.
 2. 8. For  (?) read probably .
 3. 1. For *p:* read *p:i*. (C).
 3. 3. Insert   before the second *ipt*.
 For *p:* read *p:i*. (C).
 4. 4. Before *r ht* insert   .
 4. note 1. The trace is part of a  in the lost line above. (C).
- VI. 2. notes. The second note 3 should be numbered 4.
- VII. ro. 3. 11. For    read : the word is *hrw*, 'day'.
 vs. 2. note in bottom corner. Not correct, for ll. 21-4 stand, in the original, at the bottom of the right-hand column.
- VIII. 4. 8. The numeral should be 50.
- IX. 1. 10. For  read .
- X. 2. 20. For  read , *ifd*. (C).
 2. 23. Insert  after .
 2. 24. For  read .
- XI. 4. 4. The first word is in red ink.
 4. 5. Černý reads the name *Hr-m-m:rc-hrw*     ^{sic}   , doubtless rightly.
 4. 10. Insert  before .

- XI. 4. 14. Read  (C).
 4. 16. Černý reads  for the second , probably rightly.
 4. 20. The numeral should be 32.
 5. 5. Černý reads   for  , probably rightly.
- XII. 6. 11.  (C) is palaeographically difficult, despite Berlin Ostr. 10665. 5.
 6. 16. Delete the first .
- XIV. 3. 23. For the last  read  (C).
 3. 24. For the name *Pw:n* read     (C).
 3. 26. Insert  after .
- XV. 5. 16. Insert  before .
- XVI. 6. 23. For   read  (C).
 7. 9. For  read  (C).
 7. 24. Insert  after .
- XVII. 1. 9. Černý's reading  for  (*m rrw for mwt*), as in Abbott, 2. 15, may be right.
 1. 15. Read                  

- XXII. 1. 3. Read .
1. 8. The numeral at the end should be 36, not 30.
2. 3. The group  seems in these papyri always to be accompanied by . Read therefore  with Černý.
- XXIV. Mayer A, 4. 7. Read  for . (C).
- Mayer A, 10. 25. Read      . (C).
- XXV. 2. 1. Read perhaps  for  since the diacritical point is over the centre of the hieratic sign.
- XXVI. 3. 4. Černý would read  for , as in 10403, 3. 3 and 13.
- XXVII. 4. 11. Černý proposes  for  here, as also in 8. 24 and 10403, 3. 21 and 31.
- XXIX. 7. 3. See on XXV, 2. 1.
- XXX. Insert the page-number 7 at the top.
7. 12. For  read .
- XXXI. 10. 1. For  after the gap read probably .
10. 6. Insert an  after .
- XXXII. 12. 12. For  read .
12. 16. For  read .
- XXXIV. 14. 3. For  read probably . (C).
14. 14. Insert  after .
- XXXV. 15. 14. For   read   or  . (C). Perhaps even   (P).
16. 20. For  read .
- XXXVII. 3. 3. and 3. 13. For  read . (C).
- XXXVIII. 1. 5. For  read . (C).
1. 5. Insert  before .
2. 9. Insert  before .
2. 12. For  read . (C).

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